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# The F

# nds of The East.

By Prof. A. S.

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The ancient nations possess in a greater or less degree a mass of legends, which are the expressions, fanciful and fantastic though they may be, of the earliest searchings of the hearts of man with reference to his environment and his Creator. It is a mistake to suppose that all legends are wholly legendary or unhistorical. Many of them will on examination be found to contain at least some elements of historical facts, or at any rate they will enable the student of History to arrive at a clue or an useful line of argument. The Biblical Flood Legend speaks of the different peoples of the earth as sprung from Noah and his sons. The Indian Flood Legend speaks of the present human race as descended from Manu, the primeval sage.

An attempt is made in this paper to make a comparative study of three Flood Legends of the East, the Chaldean, the Jewish, and the Indian, with a view to see what useful lessons may be gathered therefrom. The plan herein adopted is firstly to state the facts connected with the above legends and secondly to study as the result of a comparative examination, certain questions; such as the probable common origin of these legends, the stages of their diffusion, etc.

## THE CHALDEAN FLOOD.

We have two accounts of this, one of which has been gathered from some fragments of a history of Babylon written in Greek by a Babylonian priest, Berossos by name, who lived immediately after Alexander the Great had conquered the country of Babylon.

The other account of the Chaldean Flood, known as the *history of Gilgamesh*, has been rendered available by the heroic labours of the great Assyriologist George Smith, whose industry in piecing together various Assyrian tablet fragments in the British Museum led to the wonderful discovery of a great epic, a poem in twelve tablets



celebrating the deeds of an ancient King of Erech<sup>1</sup>. The deluge narrative is contained in the eleventh tablet, which is the best preserved of all.

#### BEROSSOS' ACCOUNT.

The deluge occurred in the reign of the last of a dynasty of ten kings. Xisūthros, the last of these kings, was informed in a dream by a deity that there was going to be a flood on a certain day, when all men would perish. He was ordered to take all sacred writings, bury them at Sippar, build a ship and after providing it with sufficient food and drink enter it with his family, friends, animals, etc. The flood lasted three days. On the rains ceasing, the king tried to reconnoitre land, and found that the ship was stranded on the top of a mountain. The whole party disembarked and celebrated a grand sacrifice to the gods. Suddenly the king was not to be seen. A voice from heaven told the people that the King had been raised to the rank of the gods. The survivors were ordered to go back to Babylon as they did<sup>2</sup>.

#### THE CHALDEAN FLOOD IN THE HEROIC EPIC.

This epic in its first book goes back to the time when the city of Erech, the capital of Sumer, was conquered and ruled by the Elamites. The second book describes the tyranny of the foreign conquerors. The third, fourth and fifth tablets derive interesting materials from the romantic incidents of Izdubar, the great deliverer, and describe the many thrilling incidents of Izdubar's life, his miraculous friendship with the sage Ebani, his fight with the lion of Ebani and the bull of Ishtar, his refusal to marry the goddess Ishtar, the curse of Ishtar's mother which brought him dire disease, his wonderful journey through strange lands to meet his ancestor Hasisadra, who lived among the gods at the mouth of the rivers, and the wonderful recovery and restoration of Izdubar as King of Erech. On Izdubar questioning his ancestor how he became a god, the eleventh tablet gives

<sup>1</sup> Wallis Budge, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 26 ff. (London, 1832).

the answer which contains a detailed description of the flood communicated by Hasisadra to Izdubar <sup>1</sup>.

The following is a brief summary from a translation of the eleventh tablet:—

The hero of the legend is Hasisadra, which word was corrupted into Xisūthros in the account of Berossos. At a council of the gods a deluge was decided on in order to destroy all men at Shuruppak on the Euphrates. The wise God Ea communicated the news to King Hasisadra who was asked to prepare a ship and embark on it with the seed of every kind of life, all his property, his family, men servants and women servants, the cattle of the fields, etc. When the appointed time came, the heavens began to rain destruction. A black cloud arose. Raman thur roared. The waters began to rise to heaven. Everything became dark. Confusion filled the earth. The gods themselves became afraid. At dawn of the seventh day, the tempest decreased and the waters began to abate. The ship steered to the mountain Nizir. After testing whether the land had appeared by sending away some birds the hero disembarked with all his belongings. An altar was raised. Sacred vessels were placed seven by seven. The gods smelt a great feast. The warlike god Bel was filled with anger at the escape of some men and vowed a second destruction. The wise god Ea then pleaded on behalf of Hasisadra. Bel was appeased and he lifted up Hasisadra and his wife to the land of the gods <sup>2</sup>.

#### THE JEWISH FLOOD.

The particulars of this flood are fairly well-known. Noah, descended from Adam and Eve, was a just and perfect man in his generation, who always walked with God. On

<sup>1</sup> Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 80-89; Wallis Budge, *The Babylonian Story of the Deluge*, p. 41-54; Ragozin, *Chaldea*, p. 314-315.

<sup>2</sup> Wallis Budge, *Babylonian Life and History*, p. 92-97; Rogers, o. c., p. 89-102. There are two recensions more of the Deluge story among the Babylonian tablets. Both are similar to the one contained in the *History of Gilgamesh*. Cf. Rogers, o. c., p. 103-109.

account of the increase of wickedness in the world, God said: "I will destroy both man and beast, the creeping things and the fowls of the air." Noah was directed to make an ark of gopherwood with dimensions given, in which he was to embark with his wife, his sons, and his sons' wives, two of every sort of fowls, of every clean beast by sevens. It began to rain for forty days and forty nights and thus a flood began which lasted for 150 days. Land was discovered by flying a raven and a dove. The ark was stranded on Mount Ararat. Noah and his people were saved and through his sons, Sem, Cham, and Japheth, there arose the different peoples of the earth<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE INDIAN FLOOD OR MANU'S FLOOD.

The earliest account of the Indian Flood occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. This was unknown to the earlier European Orientalists. Max Müller published the first translation of the *Brāhmaṇa*. The flood account in this *Brāhmaṇa* is quite brief. The main points are briefly these:--

In the morning, water was brought to Manu. A fish gets into his hands along with the water poured. It seeks protection saying that small fish are liable to be devoured by the large. Manu first keeps the fish in a jar. On its growing large, he puts it into a trench and lastly the fish is taken into the sea. The fish then speaks to Manu: 'In such and such a year a flood will come. You are to make a ship and enter into it.' At the appointed time, the flood begins to rise. Manu enters the ship. The fish appears in time and gets a rope tied from the ship to its horn. The ship is dragged to yonder northern mountain. Manu is directed to descend. The water subsides. The slope of the northern mountain is thereafter known as मनोरन्तरणम्, Manu's descent. Manu alone is saved<sup>2</sup>.

#### THE FLOOD ACCOUNT IN THE BHARATA.

In the *Vana Parva* Markandeya gives an account of the flood to Yudhistira. The commentator Nilakanta, rightly

<sup>1</sup> *Gen.*, VI-VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Śatapatha Brahmana*, I Khanda, ch. VIII (Eggelin's trans., Sacred Books of the East).

enough judging from the context, interprets the whole account in terms of Vedanta Philosophy. However, the materials are not without interest to the student of History. The account is summarised thus:—

Manu, the son of Vivaswat, was a great Rāja Rishi who excelled his father and grandfather by ओजस्, तेजस् and तपस्. He performed a most difficult penance at Badiri, his head downwards, and his eyes unwinking for several years. A fish appears before him on the banks of the Chirini and for the reason already mentioned appeals for protection. Manu puts the fish in a small vessel. It begins to grow. Manu then puts it in a well, later in a tank, still later in the river Ganges. The fish outgrows even the Ganges. Manu then conveys it to the sea. The fish then speaks to Manu: 'This whole world with everything animate and inanimate will shortly be engulfed by a flood. Prepare a ship providing necessary rope. Embark in it with the seven Rishis and all seeds of life. I shall appear at right time, recognizable by my horn'. The horned fish appeared when the ship was tossed about in the mighty ocean, dancing as it were with waves, agitated by high winds and waters surging and roaring all round. Everything became one sheet of water. The fish then speaks: 'Tie up the ship to the summit', which is to this day called नौवन्धनम्. The fish declares itself as Brahma, greater than whom there is none and Manu, as the destined creator of all worlds, Dēvas, asuras, etc<sup>4</sup>.

#### THE FLOOD ACCOUNT IN THE MATSYA PURANA.

Raja Manu, old and worn with तपस्, abdicates his kingdom in favour of his son and resorts to Yoga on the slopes of Malaya, which writers identify as Malabar. The account of the fish, as already narrated, then follows. A female fish gets into Manu's hand whilst he was performing तपेणम्. Manu puts it first in a small vessel, then in a larger vessel, then in a well, then on the river Ganges and lastly on the sea. The fish seems to envelope the whole ocean.

<sup>4</sup> *Mahabharata*, Vana Parva, ch. CLXXXVII.

Manu becomes frightened and praises the fish as God Vasu-dēva. The fish approves of Manu's recognition and speaks thus: 'In a short time the world is going to be inundated. Here is the ship on which you are to embark with all living creatures. When the winds of the end of the Yuga begin to toss the ship, fasten it on my horn. At the end of the Yuga thou wilt become the creator of everything and the head of this मन्वन्तर<sup>1</sup>.

#### THE FLOOD ACCOUNT IN THE BHAGAVATHA.

The hero is not Manu as in the aforesaid three accounts, but a new person, a royal Rishi, Satya Vrata — the pious King of Dravida— a faithful worshipper of Vishnu. On the river Krithamali he was once offering पितृर्पणम्. A fish gets into the hollow of his hands. The incidents, as already narrated, follow. Satya Vrata ultimately recognizes the fish as god Vishnu himself. The fish then speaks: 'On the seventh day after this day, the three worlds will be under deluge. A large ship<sup>2</sup> will appear before thee. Embark in it with all plants, seeds and the seven Rishis. Thou shalt be saved and become the वैवस्वतमनु of the next age,' which is the present one. This fish account is merged with the account of the *Matsya Avatāra* — the first of Vishnu's ten Avatars — having for purpose the slaying of the demon Hayagriva and recovering from him the Vedas, which he had stolen<sup>2</sup>.

#### PROBABLE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS.

Even a cursory study of the legends now narrated will reveal certain important similarities underlying them. For example: (1) The warning given before-hand by a divine agency and the protection afforded by that divine agency to the chosen person or persons; (2) The instructions given in the main to the person to be delivered; (3) The stranding of the ship on a mountain top—be it Nizir or Ararat or नाबनधनम्, on the northern mountains (Himālayas); (4) The

<sup>1</sup> *Matsya Purana*, ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Srimad Bhagavatha*, VIII skanda, ch. XXIV.

propagation of the present human race from the person or persons protected from the flood.

These striking similarities may not perhaps be argued as merely the work of chance. Rather it would appear that the several flood legends must have had some common origin to serve as frame-work.

CLOSE PARALLEL BETWEEN THE CHALDEAN AND  
THE JEWISH ACCOUNTS.

One has only to read these two accounts to be impressed with the close parallel that exists between them.

1. In the Chaldean account, the god Ea gives the warning and saves Hasisadra. In the Jewish account, God directly warns and saves Noah, both the heroes being highly favoured by God.

2. In both, the flood is brought about by heavy rains during days and nights. The difference between the two accounts, in the matter of raining for three days and three nights in the one, and forty days and forty nights in the other, is not of a material character. The longer period is easily explained by the fact that it may have been considered necessary to account for a flood which lasted in Israel for 150 days.

3. The idea of men rebelling against God, being the cause of the divine punishment in the form of a flood.

4. The length, width and height of the ship to be constructed is indicated in the Chaldean account. A similar thing is noticed in the Biblical account also.

5. The sending forth of the dove and the raven in both accounts to find out land.

These and other parallels make the two accounts so close to one another as to lead us to think that one is almost a copy of the other with only necessary changes made so as to suit the people concerned. The Jewish account seems to make the propagation, after the flood, of the fowls, cattle etc., easier by selections of sevens made with due regard to male and female elements. It will also be remembered that while the Jews were monotheistic, the Chaldeans were not.

### THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE INDIAN FLOOD ACCORDING TO THE BRAHMANA.

Of all the flood accounts the one in the *Brāhmaṇa* is the shortest and the most simple. It is singularly wanting in those several details with which the account is dressed up in the Chaldean and Biblical versions and even in the *Bhāṛata* and in the Puranic versions of the Indian Flood. The divine character of the protecting fish is not expressly stated in contrast to the divine agency which is prominent in all the other accounts—Mesopotamian and Indian. Manu is described as saved alone whereas in all the other accounts a number of people are described as saved. There is again a singular absence of moral point in the Indian account, in contrast to the divine punishment of men for wickedness and sin, as noted in the Chaldean and Biblical accounts. As regards the cause of the flood there appears to be a fundamental difference between the *Brāhmaṇa* account on the one hand and the Chaldean and Biblical accounts on the other. In the latter two, the flood is due to heavy rain continuing for days and nights. The *Brāhmaṇa* makes no reference at all to rain. The language employed would seem to indicate, as argued by Mr. Abhinava Chandra Das, that the flood was due to a sudden upheaval of the sea. The ship is described as dragged to the northern mountain, indicating that the flood must have begun in the south. The theory set up by A. C. Das, and supported by geological evidences adduced by him, is that ancient Sapta Sindhu was surrounded by four oceans and the flood was probably due to the upheaval of the Rajputana sea to the south of Sapta Sindhu, owing to seismic disturbances in that region in some remote geological period<sup>1</sup>. If this theory be correct, then the flood account in the *Brāhmaṇa* would be based on a real historical flood, which took place in Punjab at a period of time to be measured by many thousands of years before Christ. The Puranic story of sage Agastya sipping the ocean dry as a feat of *Tapas* in his migration to Southern India might, on the above hypothesis,

rest on a historical substratum of a new land rising out of the sea.

#### DISCREPANCIES BETWEEN THE BRAHMANA ACCOUNT AND THE ACCOUNT IN THE BHARATA AND THE PURANAS.

We may now proceed to note these discrepancies with a view to see if they may be explained. The discrepancies are largely in the nature of enlargements and modifications introduced in the later Indian texts of the *Bhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. The more important among them are the following:

1. While the *Brāhmaṇa* account is quite simple and natural and wanting in several facts, the other accounts supply these deficiencies and present the story in a detailed and embellished form.
2. While the *Brāhmaṇa* account locates the deluge in Northern India, we notice that the place of the incident is shifted to the south in the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavatha Purāṇas*. According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*, Manu performs his penance in Malaya, which is one of the two well-known mountains in the Sahyadri chain on the Malabar coast. In the *Bhāgavatha Purāṇa* the very name of the hero is changed from Manu to Satya Vrata, the King of the Dravida country. Further the scene is laid near the river Kritmali, presumably in the Dravida country. It would be highly interesting if this river could be identified. The *Matsya Purāṇa* very strangely mentions the River Narbada as the only river not destroyed by the Flood. Could this be an indication of the love and reverence of Puranic writers for the sacredness of the Malabar Coast?

The several enlargements and modifications in the story that we have thus far noticed are not such as to embarrass us. In the wake of sage Agastya and sage Visvamitra's sons, there must have travelled a number of Aryans from the north to the southern parts of India. This is perhaps indicative of the beginnings of Aryan migration to the south.



The *Matsya* and the *Bhāgavatha Purāṇas* both agree to consider the fish as an Avatar of Vishnu, and probably the Dravidians who had received Aryan culture became, as suggested by Mr. A. C. Das, the chief votaries of god Vishnu, and claimed Manu protected by the divine fish as a Dravidian king under the name of Satya Vrata<sup>1</sup>. It follows that when once Manu is made a Dravidian king the story must needs be invested with places in the Dravida country. Hence probably the references to Malaya, the river Kritamali, etc. In this connection we may also remember the reverential mention made of the River Narbada in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, noted above.

#### THE THEORY OF BABYLONIAN IMPORTATION OF FLOOD LEGEND INTO SOUTHERN INDIA EXAMINED.

The pre-Max Müller orientalists acquainted only with Puranic versions of the Indian Flood were attracted by the common points between the Indian and Chaldean Floods and set up the theory that the kernel of the story was imported into India from Babylon. Z. A. Ragozin, writing after the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* account became fully known, says: "The surprise was great when a version came to light in one of the great *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Śatapatha* -- suddenly removing the Legend into an age closely bordering on the Vedic, in which we find it presented as an ancient legend accounting for the origin of the present human race. The point of view was shifted at once in a way which necessitated entirely new adaptations"<sup>2</sup>. Old beliefs necessarily die hard. Pointing out among other reasons-

- i. the identity between Manu's divine preserver and Ea the preserver of Hasisadra both appearing in the symbolic form of a fish; and
- ii. the references in the *Matsya* and *Bhāgavatha Purāṇas* to the scene of Manu laid in Southern India.

<sup>1</sup> Das, o. c., p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Ragozin, *Vedic India*, p. 336.

Ragozin would still have it that it was through the Malabar Coast that the Babylonian legend travelled into India, before the advent of Aryan influence into the south. This theory of the pre-Aryan importation of the Babylonian Legend into southern India confronts us with two difficulties. Is it to be admitted that the flood story was conveyed to Sapta Sindhu and introduced among the Aryans there by the Dravidians from the south? Or is it to be considered that the legend of the *Brāhmaṇa* is to remain independent and isolated from the later Puranic versions? In the first case there is the incongruity of a people possessing a detailed version of the flood introducing a simple, crude, and not altogether reconcilable version among another people. In the second case the position is not quite rational in view of the accepted course of Indian History. Both these hypotheses would appear to be approaching the question from the wrong end. The correct view seems to be to hold that the *Brāhmaṇa* legend is the oldest and travelled into South India along with the incoming Aryans, and in course of time received enlargements and modifications noticeable in the Puranic versions.

#### EARLY INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BABYLONIA AND SOUTH INDIA.

"Thirty five years ago", says Ragozin, "no one would have thought of connecting India with archaic Babylonia"<sup>1</sup>. In the light of new evidences based on Philology, Craniology, and comparative Religion, Ragozin argues a close commercial relation and racial kinship between the Dravidians and the Chaldeans in the milleniums before Christ. The philological arguments are:—

1. The word *Māna* meaning a measure of gold was used by the Dravidians, the Vedic Aryans, the Babylonians, the Greeks and the Latins.
2. The Babylonian name for muslim was *Sindhu*, named after the River Indus, and manufactured by Vedic

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 304-308.

Aryans, but conveyed to Babylonian markets by Dravidian traders.

3. The Indian origin of the four words in Hebrew to denote the four articles brought in Solomon's trading ships — Sandalwood, Ivory, Apes and Peacocks. While Max Müller would derive these four Hebrew words from Sanskrit<sup>1</sup>, Caldwell would have it that these words were introduced into Hebrew from Tamil<sup>2</sup>.
4. The Sumerian and Dravidian languages are both agglutinative.

Craniology, as applied to the discovery of sculptures at Telloh, reveals a striking identity with the Dravidians of Southern India. H. R. Hall in his *Ancient History of the Near East* says that the ethnic type of the Sumerians bears the clearest resemblance with the Dravidian ethnic type of India<sup>3</sup>.

The whole question of the origin of the Chaldeans or Sumerians who developed the ancient civilisation in Babylonia has been a subject of discussion among scholars. The general trend of opinion at present seems to show that the ancient Chaldeans were of Indian origin and had a close connection with India. The earliest theory that they were of the Semitic race may now be considered as almost rejected. The upholders of the theory of the colonization of Chaldea by a branch of the Cushites feel bound to trace the migration of the Cushites after a sojourn and intermixture with the people of Southern India. As the result of a comparative study of the Cosmogony, Theogony, Arts and Industries of the ancient Chaldeans with those of the Vedic Aryans, Abhinav Chandra Das suggests the theory that the Chaldeans were a mixed race sprung from an intermingling of the Panis, a branch of the Vedic Aryans, with the Dravidians and that

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 224-225.

<sup>2</sup> Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 173. Cf. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, p. 6-8.

they migrated *via* the Persian Gulf to Southern Babylonia from the Coromandel and Malabar coasts<sup>1</sup>. In this connection it will also be remembered that Sir John Marshall, the Director-General of Archaeology in India, in the course of some notes on the very important excavations recently made at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, set up the hypothesis that the Sumerians, who were considered an intrusive race in Mesopotamia, may have migrated from the Punjab<sup>2</sup>. In the light of the above accumulated evidences it seems to be fairly safe to assume that the earliest civilisation of Chaldea was subject to a large doze of influence from India<sup>3</sup>. The theory of the Flood Legend conveyed from Southern India into Babylonia would thus receive further corroboration.

#### B. G. TILAK AND THE INDIAN FLOOD.

Mr. Tilak, in his remarkable work *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, holds that the Indian story of the deluge as narrated in the *Brāhmaṇa* refers to the same catastrophe, as is described in the *Zend-Avesta*, which destroyed the Aryan paradise situated according to him within the Arctic Circle. The deluge in the *Avesta* is brought about by ice while the Indian Flood was one of water. Tilak however tries to explain this difficulty by quoting Panini, to show that the word *Pralaya* meaning deluge is connected with *Prāleya* meaning snow or ice, and suggesting that the connection of ice with deluge was not unknown to the Indians. The word *Aughah* which occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* may be taken, says Mr. Tilak, to refer to sweeping floods flowing from glaciated districts. The Flood Legend in the *Brāhmaṇa* describes the ship as taken yonder northern mountain 'Uttaragiri'<sup>4</sup>. Manu therefore must have voyaged from the south to the north and not from the north to the south, as Tilak's theory would seem to re-

<sup>1</sup> Das, o. c., p. 222-238.

<sup>2</sup> Statement issued by Sir John Marshall in *The Hindu*, of Madras, on November 14th, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, *The Dravidian Civilization in Palestine*, Q. J. M. S., XIX, p. 171-179.

<sup>4</sup> Tilak, *The Arctic Home in The Vedas*, p. 387.

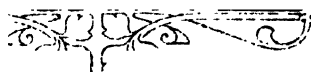
quire. A. C. Das points out various other difficulties standing in the way of the acceptance of Mr. Tilak's view<sup>1</sup>.

INDIAN FLOOD LEGEND,  
THE PARENT OF THE FLOOD LEGENDS.

The distinguishing features of the legend in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* have already been referred to, as well as the close parallel between the Chaldean and Biblical account. The *Brahmaṇa* account has been pointed out as the source for the later Puranic versions in India; and the Chaldean account has been noted as, in all probability, conveyed to Babylonia by the Dravidians after Aryan civilization and culture had made its way into Southern India. The conclusion is therefore ventured that the account in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is the parent Flood Legend<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Das, o. c., pp. 367-370.

<sup>2</sup> It is nevertheless possible that these Flood Legends do not depend on one another. If the Flood is a historical fact, as seems evident, all these legends may have this fact as a common historical foundation, and so be mutually independent in their origin. *Ed.*



# Lord Dalhousie and the Faithful Allies of the British.

By Prof. N. N. Lalla, M. A., B. T.

Of the Muslim rulers of the Native States in India in the days of the East India Company, there were two most important and prominent: the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Oudh. Each of them for his loyalty and devotion was rightly styled by the British as "Our faithful Ally". It is quite interesting and instructive to study the relations between these two rulers and the Honourable East India Company for a period of nearly a hundred years—from 1765 to 1856.

## 1. CONDUCT OF HYDERABAD AND OUDH WITH THE E. I. C.

Both chiefs always supplied the rungs of the ladder to the British to rise to the summit of their glory. It was the Nizam who was responsible for the enlargement and consolidation of the British power in Southern India. It was he, who for the first time brought the French and the British into the arena of Indian politics and eventually favoured the latter, yielding to them districts after districts without remonstrance or resistance. It was he, who was the first to accept the Subsidiary Alliance, not incorrectly spoken of as "the glove of mail," which gradually helped the E. I. C. to cripple every native power in Southern India.

If we divert our attention to Oudh, we find that this small state also helped the E. I. C. well nigh one hundred years to establish their power in Northern India. Oudh was the first state in upper India to enter into the Subsidiary Alliance with them. In every respect and at all times, Oudh fulfilled the duties of a good neighbour and a faithful ally in time of peace, and in time of war surpassed them. I may quote here a few paras from the *Blue Books*. General Low in 1855 (only a few months before the annexation of Oudh) said the following:—

»In all those measures, which relate exclusively to the interests of the Paramount State, such as searching for and

giving up criminals who have escaped into Oude from our provinces, supplying our troops when marching through Oude, protecting our mails, etc., etc., the Government of Oude has always been, and up to this day, unusually attentive and efficient. I can further truly remark that the Kings of Oude have co-operated most actively and efficiently with us in capturing Thugs and Decoits.

»In regard to their external relations with us, their conduct has been remarkably irreproachable.

»It is not only that the Kings of Oude have never been hostile to us in their proceedings and never intrigued against us in any way; they have abstained from every kind of communication with other native potentates, except openly, and through the medium of the British Resident; and during our wars against our enemies, they have constantly proved to be *really active and most useful allies* to us; they have, again and again, forwarded large supplies of grain and cattle, etc., to our armies, with an alacrity that could not be exceeded by our own British Chiefs of Provinces; and during our wars against the Nepaalese and Burmese, the King of Oude lent us very large sums of money,—no less than three crores of rupees, (three million-sterling), —when we were extremely in want of it, and could not procure it elsewhere; and even so late as 1842, the grand-father of the present King supplied us with fourteen lakhs of rupees, (£140,000); and his son, the father of the present King, supplied us with thirty two lakhs of rupees, (£ 320,000), which were of very great use indeed to Lord Ellenborough's Government, in enabling him to push on and equip General Pollock's army, to retrieve our disasters in Afghanistan.

»During the Nepeul War, the King of Oude lent us, free of all cost, nearly 300 elephants. The aid thus obtained for conveying our artillery and ammunition, and tents, etc, in our mountain warfare, was of immense value to us, and of a kind which it was totally out of our power to obtain in any other manner, or from any other quarter"<sup>1</sup>.

Thus there is no exaggeration in what Sir Henry Lawrence said in 1845, while referring to Oudh as a province "periodically used as a *wet nurse* to relieve the difficulties of the East India Company's finances" <sup>1</sup>.

Yet how were these old and faithful allies treated by Lord Dalhousie is a story at once pathetic and painful. In return for their services he sequestered the dominions of the first and annihilated the kingdom of the other as a native state. In narrating these incidents as depicted in the most authentic sources, the *Blue Books*, the writings of the contemporary statesmen, the travellers and above all in the diaries and dispatches of the officials of the Honourable East India Company, lest I should wound the feelings of any admirers of Lord Dalhousie, I pray I might be pardoned. A historian has rightly said: "The most painful incident in political criticism is when we are compelled to refuse to the memory of some deceased statesmen that meed of fame and honour which his friends and followers demand. But if admiring co-adjutors and disciples propose the canonisation of a false saint, the apotheosis of a false hero, it surely becomes one of the highest religious and social duties to deny the pretended achievements and to protest against the posthumous honours."<sup>2</sup>

## 2. LORD DALHOUSIE AS A STATESMAN.

Lord Dalhousie, a young Scotch peer, succeeded in 1848 the veteran Lord Hardinge, at the age of 35. The latter had taken every possible precaution to secure peace and good administration and avoid annexations. But it is admitted that the young peer, believing more in annexations than in reforms, during his administration of 8 years, annexed eight kingdoms for various reasons. The Panjab was annexed because there was a rising in the country, such as the British Government had itself undertaken to quell in their treaty with the minor sovereign. Lower Burma was annexed because of the complaints of the British merchants trading in

Lawrence, *Essays Military and Political*, p. 61.

Bell, *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p.



that country. Sambalpur was annexed because the Raja left no heirs. Satara, Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed because Lord Dalhousie refused to recognize the heirs adopted by the rulers of those states. Berar was taken over because the Nizam could not pay the "alleged debt". Oudh was annexed because of its misgovernment. He was thus the last and most successful of the old Imperialist School of rulers during the Company's administration.

We are concerned here only with the policy and action of Lord Dalhousie in relation to the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Oudh, which no impartial writer can defend on the ground of justice. According to Seeley's opinion, "Lord Dalhousie, in particular, stands out in history as a ruler of the type of Frederick the Great, and did deeds which are almost as difficult to justify as the seizure of Silesia or the partition of Poland. But these acts, if crimes, are crimes of the same order as those of Frederick, crimes of ambition, and of an ambition not by any means purely selfish"<sup>1</sup>. Really speaking this comparison is not altogether appropriate. Frederick never set up new doctrines to satisfy his earth hunger. He never descended to an untrue interpretation of the treaties and of the customs, whenever he was bent upon following a particular course. It is urged by one of the admirers of Lord Dalhousie that he "had *large views*, a rapid intellect, indefatigable industry, admirable talents of business, and great self reliance. He was a vigorous writer and had the faculty of ready speech"<sup>2</sup>. We must grant that he did possess several of these talents. Another admirer of his Lordship says: "He was a great administrator and statesman, with *large views*"<sup>3</sup>. But one of the critics of Lord Dalhousie, ten years after his Lordship relinquished the charge of Indian administration, has maintained that "Lord Dalhousie had not *large views*; his views were invariably the nearest and narrowest possible"<sup>4</sup>. He argues in the following manner:

<sup>1</sup> Seeley, *Expansion of England*, p. 272. (1885)

<sup>2</sup> Argyle, *India under Dalhousie and Canning*, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Jackson, *A Vindication*, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Bell, *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p. 247.

"He (Lord Dalhousie) abolished a kingdom as coolly, and with as little compunction, as he abolished a Board. This was much admired at Calcutta during the last three years of his administration; but it was simply a proof of those imperfect sympathies and that total blindness to everything but some immediate, showy result, which are irreconcilable with any pretension to statesmanship"<sup>1</sup>.

It is now for the students of Indian History to find out the truth for themselves. Really it is a most delicate task to examine the policy of a statesman; but those that undertake to pass judgement, favourable or otherwise, on Lord Dalhousie's conduct are bound to know the authentic documents in which that conduct and the reasons which determined it are carefully recorded. The following pages have been written mainly with the help of such materials.

Before examining the policy and action of Lord Dalhousie in relation to the Nizam and the Nawab, I quote first of all the opinion of his Noble Lordship, to indicate how far he recognized the fact that both the allies had been equally faithful to the British. Of the Nizam he recorded in his Minute of 1853:—

"The Nizam has been our ally for more than half a century. The treaty (of 1800), which makes the friends and enemies of the one the friends and enemies of the other is in full force and operation"<sup>2</sup>. In his proclamation of Oudh, in the year 1856, he declares that the kings of Oudh, had "ever been faithful and true to their friendship to the British Nation"<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. LORD DALHOUSIE AND THE HYDERABAD CONTINGENT

The Nizam, it is alleged, had certain debts to pay on account of a small army called the "Hyderabad Contingent". Lord Dalhousie wanted that the amount should be paid at once or the Berar Provinces should be assigned, in consideration of which the debt would be collected and the Contingent

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nizam's Cession Papers, (26-7-1854)*, p. 98, para 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ludlow, *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, p. 61.

maintained by the British. It is therefore proper to refer to the history of this Contingent.

By the treaty of 1800, it was laid down:—"If a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other power whatever, then His Highness the Nawab Asoph Jah engages that, with the reserve of two battalions of sepoys, which are to remain near His Highness's person, the residue of the British subsidiary force, (consisting of six battalions of sepoys and two regiments of cavalry with artillery) joined by 6000 infantry and 9000 horse of His Highness's own troops, and making together an army of 12000 infantry and 10000 cavalry, with their requisite train of artillery, and warlike stores of every kind, shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and His Highness farther engages to employ every further effort in his power for the purpose of bringing into the field, as speedily as possible, the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war. The Honourable Company in the same manner engage on their part, in this case, to employ in active operations against the enemy the largest force which they may be able to furnish, over and above the said subsidiary force"<sup>1</sup>.

This clause, I say, was most carefully drafted; because over and above the subsidiary force for which the Nizam had given up a territory of the annual value of 74 lakhs, he was required to assist the British with 15,000 men and more if possible; whereas the Honourable Company on their own part prescribed no specific number for the purpose of assisting the Nizam besides the said subsidiary force. This clause of the treaty, therefore, made it imperative for the Nizam to maintain a certain amount of military force of his own.

This he did without any hesitation and entertained for this purpose a number of brigades under European Officers, English, Portuguese, Dutch, Scotch and Irish. In the year 1811 this army of the Nizam consisted of 70,000 men mostly feudal troops without any discipline. The troops had

<sup>1</sup> Treaty of 1800, Article 12, *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 11.

remained in arrears of pay for months and months together, untill at last they had broken into revolt or tied their commanding officers to guns and threatened to blow them away, unless their arrears had been discharged. This is what happened in the case of the Gordon brothers, one of whom was threatened by the soldiers to be blown away "unless their pay was given to them, together with a free pardon for their offence"<sup>1</sup>. It was deemed necessary to avoid such circumstances hereafter. "Accordingly the new Resident Mr. Russel Henry, resolved to reform and reorganise a small portion at all events of this heterogeneous force"<sup>2</sup>. In these reforms he was allowed a free hand by the Nizam's minister, Raja Chandahal. It was also arranged that this "Russel Brigade", as the reformed troops came to be called hereafter, should be paid by the Resident from the tribute of 9 lakhs which the British had promised to pay by the treaty of 1766 in return for the free gift of the Northern Circars<sup>3</sup>.

When the expenses went on increasing the Resident made the Hyderabad Government borrow money from an English firm, called the Palmer and Co., a banking concern that had obtained the necessary license from the Government of India to carry on pecuniary transactions with the Nizam's Government in the days of Lord Hastings. It may be mentioned that one of the partners of this firm had married a ward of Lord Hastings. In course of time the sum of 9 lakhs proved insufficient, for in the year 1818 the cost of the reformed brigades amounted to 36 lakhs, and the firm had no objection to advance money at the rate of 24% . "When it is further remembered that the Nizam still maintained a very large army and had also assigned jagirs worth more than half a crore of rupees a year for the up-keep of the Paigah force, it will be understood that the cost of this Russel Brigade (of 7,000 men) in 1818, constituted a very heavy drain,"<sup>4</sup> on the resources of the Hyderabad State, whose total revenue

<sup>1</sup> Briggs, *The Nizam*, II, p. 101; Cf. Kaye, *Life of Lord Metcalfe*, I, p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 149.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63 and 150.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

amounted to a crore and 60 lakhs<sup>1</sup>. Let it be carefully noted that after meeting these demands, "*there was but little left to cover the cost of administration*"<sup>2</sup>. Raja Chandalar, who knew "that these reformed troops were a special hobby of the Resident"<sup>3</sup>, pleased him by co-operating with him, and satisfied the Nizam at the same time by borrowing for him as much as he wanted for his comforts. This enabled the Raja to enjoy power and position for full 40 years. In the meantime, the Palmer and Co., prospered as long as Lord Hastings was in India; and then in the absence of its patron it collapsed and became insolvent, because the Government of India advanced a loan to the Nizam to pay off the dues of the firm. The state papers do not show on whose authority the Government of India entangled itself in this affair<sup>4</sup>. Be that as it may, the fact was that there arose a period of financial embarrassment which plunged the State in a condition of insolvency for 25 years or more.

Sir Charles Metcalf, the Resident after Sir Henry Russel, pointed out the danger that arose from the constantly increasing expenditure on the Hyderabad Contingent. In his opinion, Captain Russel "had made the Nizam's Contingent too much of a plaything"<sup>5</sup>, and used it for the purposes of patronage<sup>6</sup>. In 1829, only the allowances of the officers (123 in number) amounted to 13½ lakhs every year<sup>7</sup>. Such a huge contingent was unnecessary and this was undoubtedly true; for any one can realize that "the whole of the Deccan was in a state of profound peace and the Subsidiary Force was more than sufficient to afford ample protection to the Nizam within his dominions; and outside them he had absolutely nothing to fear, for he was now entirely surrounded by either the British territory or the territory of the allied princes"<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 153.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Kaye, *Life of Lord Metcalf*, I, p. 373.

<sup>6</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 165.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

"There seems to be no doubt that, had Lord Hastings acted with fairness and consideration towards the interests of his 'old and faithful ally'; the Nizam, he would not have encouraged him to maintain this expensive and unnecessary force. But this of course he never did; for instead of helping him to reduce, if not to abolish, the force entirely, for the next thirty years, the British actually deprecated any interference with it whatsoever"<sup>1</sup>. The reason for this non-interference may be ascribed to the Treaty of 1800 (Clause 13), which declared that, the Honourable East India Company's Government on their part "would not meddle into the affairs of His Highness's children, relations, subjects or servants, with respect to whom His Highness was absolute".

"So the contingent became an established fact, vested interests—power of patronage—continued to grow up in connection with it, which became well-nigh impossible to sever. Like an avalanche, the evil continued to increase in volume and weight the longer it moved on; and although successive Governors-General spoke and wrote decisively of the expenditure, and although successive Residents pointed out the growing embarrassments of the Government, no one ever attempted to apply the knife to the sore which was sapping the vitals of the kingdom. On the contrary, the Governors-General continued to insist upon the punctual discharge by the Nizam of the full cost of the force, and when under altered circumstances he began to fall into arrears we (the British) held him personally responsible for it"<sup>2</sup>.

The above description clearly shows that the Hyderabad State's financial liabilities went on increasing. Disorganised finances led to oppression and extortion. The cultivators being the geese that lay the golden eggs in an agricultural country, were the first to suffer. The revenues gradually decreased, but the expenditure together with loans and interest charges increased and more and more districts were mortgaged every year. It may, therefore, be concluded

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

that the Hyderabad State was burning its candle not only at both ends but in the middle also. Sir Charles Metcalf, as a Resident, wrote in 1829: "The existence of the force paid by a Native State, but commanded by our officers and entirely under our control, is undoubtedly a great political advantage. It is an accession to our military strength in an empire, where military strength is everything. The advantage is immense. But I cannot say that I think the arrangement a just one towards the Native State. The same circumstances which make it so advantageous to us make it unjust to the State at whose expense it is upheld"<sup>1</sup>.

As the difficulties became more acute, a proposal was made by the Minister in despair to the Resident to mortgage districts valued at 4½ lakhs of rupees for a loan of 75 lakhs. Lord Ellenborough declined to accord his consent until it should come before him with the Nizam's authority, which did not seem to have been granted<sup>2</sup>. After a few months when the situation became more serious, Lord Ellenborough was willing to advance a loan of one crore "but only on condition that the administration of the whole State should be handed over to the British Government, that one allowance should be made for the maintenance of the Nizam, and that all surplus of revenue over expenditure should be at the disposal of the British Government"<sup>3</sup>. But nothing was really done in this respect, and in 1846 the debt amounted to Rs. 38 lakhs in addition to the four months' arrears which called forth remonstrance from Lord Hardinge. This also served no purpose, and in 1849 the debt amounted to Rs. 64 lakhs. Then came the final warning of Lord Dalhousie. His Noble Lordship declared that if early steps were not taken to clear off the debt, the Governor-General would feel himself under the necessity of taking such measures as should be effectual both for ensuring those objects for which the faith of this Government was virtually pledged and for maintaining the security of its own interests<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of 11th April, 1843. Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

4 WAS THIS CONTINGENT AND THE CONSEQUENT DEBT  
JUST AND PROPER?

This question is very important, for we have found that Lord Dalhousie deprived the Nizam of the richest part of his principality in settlement of this debt and the future maintenance of this contingent. After following the story of the debt in the above paras it is not difficult to realize the extent of injustice done to the Nizam from the following words of Major Moore<sup>1</sup>, a member of the Court of Directors in the days of Lord Dalhousie: "By the treaty of 1800", says he, "the Nizam was bound to assist us in time of war with a certain contingent force. . . . and we had no right of its being maintained upon its present footing in time of peace. Looking to the state of the Nizam's finances, even the expression of a positive disinclination on the part of His Highness for any reduction in this force is not in my judgement sufficient. *We have rendered it permanent contrary to the principle of treaty and have altered it so as to be useful for our purposes.*

"Its commands and staff appointments have afforded rewards for meritorious officers who had distinguished themselves in our own armies, and *it has been altogether a fertile source of patronage.* The Nizam had no voice in the organization and equipment of this force. It was entirely managed by us and, although paid by His Highness, we have always assumed a right to withhold its services from him when we chose to disapprove of the objects. Hence he has been obliged to maintain large number of other troops on his own account for ordinary service in his territories, and the advantages he has derived from his Contingent have been *nearly similar* to the advantages derived from the Subsidiary Force supplied by us.

"The revenues of the Nizam were calculated at about one crore and 60 lakhs. The pay of the Contingent was nearly 40 lakhs; with such an incubus on its finances, is it to be wondered that after a time funds for its maintenance were not

<sup>1</sup> Major Moore was in the days of Lord Aukland the Military Secretary to the Resident at Hyderabad. Gribble, o. c., II, p. 178.



forthcoming? I well know to what shifts the Nizam's ministers have had to resort to meet our inevitable demand for the monthly pay of the Contingent. What evils it has been the cause of! Loans from money dealers at exorbitant interest, farming of districts at a ruinous loss, forestalling of revenues, and a host of attendant miseries. Overwhelmed with financial difficulties, the Nizam was at length unable to pay the contingent and we kindly (?) lent him the money from our own treasury first at 12% and latterly at 6% interest and thus our staunch ally has incurred a debt to us"<sup>1</sup>.

The above extract throws a flood of light on the above problem, which it is important to examine still in detail. We have seen that in 1811 Sir Henry Russel, who was *determined* to reform and re-organize the Nizam's troops, undertook to do so because the British could not "expect any efficient support from so badly armed and disciplined a force"<sup>2</sup> of the Nizam. The Governor-General knew that the Nizam had no funds for this purpose and still took active interest in the formation of a banking concern—the firm "Palmer and Co."—to advance money to the Nizam. Again it is not an unknown fact that the Minister, who co-operated with the Resident in all that was described by Metcalf as a mere "plaything" of the Resident, was a tool in the hands of the Resident and of the banking firm, Palmer & Co.

As regards this point Colonel (afterwards General Sir John) Lowe wrote to General Fraser: "My opinion entirely coincides with your own respecting the cruelty, as I may well call it, that we have been guilty of towards the Nizam's Government, in keeping up for so many years the continued drain upon the revenues of his country of no less than 40 lakhs of rupees per annum for the pay of the Contingent—in other words for purposes of our own, not of the Nizam's...I remember to have pointed out to Mr. Colvin, in 1838, that since the year 1819, a Contingent of half the strength, costing 20 lakhs of rupees a year, could do precisely the same

service for the Nizam's Government as the present force does, which costs 40 lakhs"<sup>1</sup>.

General Sir James Lushington, the chairman of the Court of Directors, said in 1848: "The great difficulty is the state of the finances in Hyderabad, and something must be done to afford relief, or the severe pressure must end in ultimate ruin I have for some time been of opinion that we have ourselves been the cause in a great measure of this difficulty, and have made exactions of the Nizam, which we were not entitled to do by any treaty... This demand (of 42 lakhs of rupees every year) swallows up nearly one-third of the country's revenues and the consequence has been that the Nizam is now in debt to the British Government for sums advanced for the payment of the Contingent Force. Considering all these circumstances, I certainly am of opinion that the disbandment of the Contingent is a measure, the propriety of which is worthy of the most serious consideration; for it cannot be denied that neither a continued maintenance nor the original organization is provided for by any existing treaty"<sup>2</sup>.

Another authority of the Court of Directors itself is also important. Sir H. Willock writes: "I shall best prosecute this inquiry by a reference to public documents. The first notice on the part of the Court of Directors respecting the *Nizam's Contingent Force* is contained in a Despatch to the Governor-General of India of the 21st January, 1824, and in that communication it is notified that the Secret Committee on the 3rd April, 1815, *expressed disapprobation of its formation*.

»In the 81st paragraph of that Despatch the question of the right we possess under the treaty to establish the Contingent is thus treated:—

'With reference also to the 12th Article of the treaty of 1800 with the Nizam, it appears to us very doubtful whether the proceedings be *consistent with good faith*, particularly if, as stated by the Marquis of Hastings, the mode of officering and paying the reformed corps render them in effect a part

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, pp. 195-196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197.

of our army, *on whose fidelity we may rely, even on a rupture with their nominal chief*'.

»In a subsequent part of the same Despatch, the evil consequences of placing too heavy impositions on Native States are strongly depicted:—

'It even merits consideration, whether in cases where they (the Native States) are bound to us by treaty to maintain a certain force, it might not be politic, if not altogether to absolve them from such engagements, at least to modify or relax those obligations, so as to bring the cost of them within the means of a Native State. When a larger force is kept up than the State can afford to pay, revenue for a time is extorted at the point of the bayonet, rapacity soon defeats its own ends, the public resources, instead of improving, decline, the pay of the troops falls into arrear, and discontent leads to mutiny'.

»These predictions have unhappily been realised at Hyderabad"<sup>1</sup>.

To cite another authority, Sir Charles Metcalf speaks more frankly about the object of the formation of this Contingent, in his minute of 1832 in the following words:—

»The Contingent furnished by the Nizam being found inefficient, *we gradually assumed the management* of it until we finally established a force in lieu of it, *completely under our own control*.

»This we were enabled to do by the subserviency of the Minister *who was the creature of our ascendancy*, and who saw in the existence of this force the means of maintaining his power against rival nobles, as well as refractory subjects"<sup>2</sup>. The same officer adds: "Since the formation of this force *exclusively under our orders*, neither the late nor the present Nizam has taken cognizance of it"<sup>3</sup>.

The same authority also wrote in 1829: "The existence of a force paid by a Native State, but commanded by our officers and entirely under our control, is undoubtedly a great advant-

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

age. It is an accession to our military strength *at the expense of another Power*, and without any cost to us; an accession of military strength in an empire, where military strength is everything. The advantage is immense. But *I cannot say that I think the arrangement a just one towards the Native State*. . . We never conquered the Nizam's territories: our relation with that prince has always been one of alliance, and his alliance was once held to be of so much importance that the officer who negotiated the treaty establishing it was rewarded by a baronetcy. *Since that period we have assumed much interference with that country, not warranted by any of our treaties*. We effected the elevation of a Minister, who emboldened by our support, *ceased to be the Minister of his own sovereign*, and became in fact the reckless ruler of the country"<sup>1</sup>. Who can therefore be held responsible for the evil results? Surely not the Nizam. If in spite of these circumstances leading to the formation of this Contingent by the E. I. C. the Nizam was made a victim, it was most unfortunate indeed!

Colonel Stewart, a Resident at Hyderabad, offers another impartial view. His opinion, given below is quoted from the Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 8th September, 1835, to the Government of India:—

"Those who have witnessed the course of our policy during the last 30 years, who have seen how we have put up *the creatures of our own* as Ministers and supported them against their Sovereign; how we have obtained the control of all the effective troops of the State; and how we assumed the civil control of the country, can hardly feel a doubt, least of all the Nizam himself, *that we have considered ourselves the actual rulers of the country*. Many evils which exist in the State are unquestionably the almost unavoidable result of our connection with it. It seems hardly fair therefore to hold either the Nizam or his Minister responsible for these evils. Situated as they were, I do not think they had the power to correct them; in fact, we may perhaps more properly be regarded as responsible for them, having the power

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<sup>1</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 176.

in our own hands, and having shown that we are in no way scrupulous about making use of that power when we thought fit to do so"<sup>1</sup>.

General Fraser in his Despatch to the Government of India, dated 26th July, 1842, says:—

"If the Nizam is permitted to retain the impression of his being absolutely and actually independent, it is not improbable that, besides other evils which may arise, we shall experience one of the greatest magnitude in a proposition on the part of his Highness *for the disbandment of the Contingent, to which he is known to be averse*, and of which the continued maintenance nor the original organisation are provided by any existing treaty"<sup>2</sup>. Colonel W. H. Sykes while commenting upon this extract says: "Here the Resident (Fraser) testifies to the aversion of the Nizam to a body of troops which we (the British) nevertheless persisted in upholding and paying for at his expense"<sup>3</sup>.

Sir H. Willock, another member of the Court of Directors, says:—

"It may be collected from General Fraser's observations that the utility of the Contingent Force is not commensurate with the evils attending its continued maintenance on its present footing. Without doubt it is a useful and efficient instrument of war, but *surrounded as the Nizam's country is by our territory, protected as he is by the Subsidiary Force of 8,000 men, mostly stationed at Secunderabad, and under the circumstances of there being no necessity for defence against foreign aggression, it may safely be asserted that the strength of the Contingent may be greatly diminished without prejudice to the internal security of the country*"<sup>4</sup>.

Again the Court of Directors, in their Despatch to the Government of India on 26th October, 1849, said as follows:—

"Para 13. It is here necessary to observe that the view

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

taken by your Government of our right by treaty to demand of his Highness that he should maintain a body of 8,000 disciplined (?) troops *is contrary to the opinion which has hitherto been professed and acted upon both by the Government of India and by ourselves*. The 15,000 troops stipulated for in the 12th Article of the Treaty of 1800, were to act in conjunction with the Subsidiary Force, and only in case of war; and it has been invariably admitted that the arrangement by which a force under British officers is kept up at all times for internal service in the Nizam's own dominions, does not rest on any treaty" <sup>1</sup>.

Lieutenant General Caulfield, C. B., says: "We imposed an unnecessary expense of 42 lacs of rupees annually upon the Nizam in maintaining a Contingent, organised, disciplined, and officered by us *to perform those duties which by treaty devolved upon the Subsidiary Force, and withheld its services from the Nizam* on grounds that cannot be defended by the principles of the international law or constitutional rights, and thereby render it necessary for his Highness to maintain, at a heavy charge (95 lacs of rupees) to the State a large and inefficient force, *with a view to avoid vexatious interference and afford employment to those of his adherents who have no other means of living*" <sup>2</sup>. That is why the Nizam could not reduce the *third army* of his own, even if he willed, without serious consequences.

The above opinions of the Court of Directors, the successive Residents at Hyderabad and officers of high character and standing, who have in unequivocal terms condemned the formation of the Contingent and the consequent debt, indicate that Lord Dalhousie was not justified, legally or morally, in making such calls on the Nizam's treasury. There is no doubt that this kind of burden ultimately paralysed the State of Hyderabad.

In concluding this story of injustice perpetrated by Lord

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 8. This Despatch was cancelled by the Board of Control, but for the facts it mentions, it cannot be ignored, because it is a *recorded document*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

Dalhousie in relation to the Nizam, it may also be pointed out that, in the words of Colonel W.H. Sykes "the exaction of payment of the debt involves the British Government in the obloquy of condemning to ruin not only the Nizam himself, *but all other creditors of the Nizam*, some of whom advanced money for the payment of the Contingent, precisely as the British Government has done; particularly in the instances of the Parsi bankers, Viccajee Mirjee and Pestonjee Mirjee to the amount of 34, 73, 440 rupees, *who have as legal and equitable and moral a claim against the Nizam's Government as ourselves, and are just as much entitled to be repaid*"<sup>1</sup>. What fault had the Parsi bankers committed so as to be condemned to ruin in such a manner if they followed in the footsteps of the firm Palmer and Co., to whom the Government of India had paid the whole amount advanced to the Nizam's minister for the Contingent?

Last of all I quote the words of Lord Dalhousie himself<sup>2</sup>. His Noble Lordship in his famous minute says the following:—

"If it be said as I have heard it said that His Highness' own troops were a rabble, and that to ensure our being aided by good troops when war came, we had the right to require the maintenance under our own care and training of a smaller body during peace, I reply *that the article confers no such constructive right*. It gives a claim to 15,000 of His Highness' own troops during war; we had a right to *that number of his best troops*; we have a positive right to it still. *But we have no right to set up any arbitrary standard of our own by which the quality of these troops is to be measured, and to demand that a small army should be permanently embodied and made over to us by the Nizam in order that we may ensure its being kept to our peculiar standard.*

*Nizam Papers*, p. 19.

My object in quoting Lord Dalhousie is *firstly*, to indicate that His Noble Lordship, like other authorities mentioned above, believed that the British Government could not compel the Nizam, in terms of the treaty, to maintain the Contingent or to pay for it; *secondly* to emphasise that *what is admitted by his noble Lordship at one stage, in unequivocal terms, is slowly and gradually repudiated by him at another stage.*

»Our right is to require 6,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry in time of war only. Our practice is to insist upon 5,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry and 24 guns at all times whether in peace or war. *Our right is to an occasional use of his Highness' troops, our practice is to convert them permanently into troops of our own.* For 35 years the Nizam's troops could never have been asked for in accordance with the spirit of the treaty; for within that period the Nizam and the Government of India have never taken the field together; yet during all that time the Contingent has been maintained at various strengths.

»These are the reasons by which I find myself forced to the conclusion that the Government of India has no right whatever *either by the spirit or the letter* of the treaty of 1800 to require the Nizam to maintain the Contingent in its present form" <sup>4</sup>.

In spite of all this overwhelming evidence including his own utterances, how did Lord Dalhousie treat the Nizam? This I discuss in the following section.

##### 5. WAS LORD DALHOUSIE A FRIEND OF THE NIZAM?

The above extracts quoted from the *Blue Books* indicate that, even according to His Lordship, the Nizam was not bound to maintain the Contingent, as he had been forced to do by the British officials from time to time. Yet Lord Dalhousie not only did nothing to right the wrong done in relation to the Nizam, but did not show in any way a friendly attitude to the "old and faithful ally" of the Honourable East India Company. For the purpose of discussing this question it is necessary to refer to some incidents.

1. The first incident that strikes us most in this connection is His Lordship's utter contempt for any and every plan suggested by the Resident Colonel Fraser to afford relief to the Nizam. As a result of the warning in 1845 from Lord Hardinge, the Nizam had "disbursed from his personal treasury

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<sup>4</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 100.



about one crore and twenty lakhs of rupees"<sup>1</sup>. With all this in the following year (1846) several zamindars took advantage of his financial difficulties and started plundering the surrounding country. "The Nizam applied for the services of the Contingent to coerce them, but the Resident declined to give the necessary orders until a month's pay should be given in advance to the troops, in addition to the four months arrears of due, and *until he had himself investigated into the complaints*"<sup>2</sup>. This could not at the same time be done without material loss of time. What was the Nizam to do in the meanwhile?

2. General Fraser, who was actuated with a sincere wish to remedy the evils in the Hyderabad State, wanted to make use of the moral force in order to introduce the reforms in the same manner as Sir Henry Russell had done while determining to reform the Nizam's troops. He believed that by the application of the moral force the wrong hitherto done to the Hyderabad State could be righted. Being profoundly disappointed with this *laissez-faire* policy of the Government of India, which, in his opinion "seem, calculated to pave the way to annexation and annihilation"<sup>3</sup>, he wrote to Sir James Lushington, the Chairman of the Court of Directors, on the 25th October, 1847, against the policy of non interference in this manner: "Improvement in Hyderabad has not progressed. I lament that such should be the case as there is no inherent necessity that it should be so. A little decision on the part of supreme Government and its assent to what I have recommended would have been sufficient. It is to this subject I wish to attract your attention and to obtain, if possible, the assent of the Court to some policy of their own devising, if not of mine, which may correct the evils of this Government in the shame of which I may perhaps be made to participate, *though I do not deserve it*. I wish to induce the Court either to act with some vigour in this matter or to acknowledge that they do

<sup>1</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.

not care to save the Nizam..... We can adhere to our treaties in perfect good faith, and yet insist at the same time that the sustained independence of Hyderabad shall not impede the equally sacred obligations under which we are placed *not to allow our military protection of the Nizam to involve, as a necessary consequence, the misery and helplessness of his people . . . Can it be the intention of the Court of Directors that they should remain so until some crisis arrives which may afford the pretext for placing the Nizam's territory under a Commission with our train of English judges and Collectors? . . .* Correction becomes more difficult by every day we remain inactive. The Government of India has in general expressed its concurrence in my views and wishes regarding the Nizam's affairs, but not in the measures which I have recommended as alone likely to accomplish their views. If my suggestions had been objectionable, let others be brought forward. Let me be favoured with commands which I promise to execute. But let not the only commands be, "*Do nothing*". This deliberate inaction appears to me to be as dishonourable to us as it is injurious to the Nizam"<sup>1</sup>. But Lord Dalhousie in a letter dated 17th October, 1848, wrote to him:—"While I am not one of those who regard the Contingent Force *as an oppression and as an injustice*, I yet think that *we do not stand free of blame in respect to the footing on which we have maintained it. And whenever the Nizam shall manifest a sincere wish to enter into an amendment of his administration, I shall be ready on my part of the Government of India to meet his endeavours to reduce the expenditure of this kingdom by entering into consideration of the means of diminishing the extravagant costliness of this force*"<sup>2</sup>.

However the Court of Directors were not so merciless in their ways. In their Despatch of the 18th December, 1849, they wrote:—"We are of opinion that these measures ought not to be made dependent on the conduct of the Nizam. If the Contingent imposes on the finances of the Nizam a greater

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 192, 194.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 197.

burden than is required by the maintenance of efficiency the Nizam ought at once to be released from such 'unnecessary pressure'<sup>1</sup>. But Lord Dalhousie was so "friendly" to the Nizam that he saw no harm in disobeying the order of the Court of Directors only to ruin the poor Nizam<sup>2</sup>. I say this on the authority of Sir H. Willock, who writes:— "Since the issue of the above instruction, the embarrassments of the Nizam have increased, his country has been disturbed by the internal commotion, the services of the Contingent have been refused him, when they might legitimately have been afforded, the revenue has been further on decline, the pressure of the contingent has more sensibly been felt, and *no step has been taken to carry out the instructions of the Court*. Vacancies have occurred in the staff of the Contingent, and *they have been filled up by the Governor-General*"<sup>3</sup>.

3. The story of the friendly attitude of Lord Dalhousie to the Nizam does not end here. Two more extracts will show that he was bent upon seeing him more and more involved into serious troubles.

(i) On the 6th June, 1849, he wrote to General Fraser as follows:—

»I will not contravene the treaty on the pretence of protecting the Nizam, and I disavow the doctrine of having any moral or political obligation to take the government of his country into our own hands, merely because he mis-manages his own affairs; and I recognise no mission entrusted to us to regenerate independent Indian States merely because they are misgoverned; when we are invited, or our own interests are affected I will act decidedly enough"<sup>4</sup>. These are the sentiments expressed in relation to an "old and faithful ally", who had sacrificed crores of rupees to please the E. I. C.

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Let it be noted that as a result of the act of disobedience on the part of Lord Dalhousie, terrible consequences followed and still none but the Nizam was made to suffer.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. That is how the Governor General cared for nobody, even the Court of Directors, when he was bent upon doing something. <sup>4</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 203.

(II) In another letter of the 27th May, 1851, he expressly repudiated the "right (of the Honourable East India Company) of deciding authoritatively on the existence of native independent sovereigns and of arbitrarily setting them aside whenever their administration may not accord with its own views" <sup>1</sup>.

But it may be rightly asked: If Lord Dalhousie was so scrupulous on this subject, why did he annex Oudh when it was not governed according to his own views? This inconsistency will be better explained in the second essay. The fact is that His Noble Lordship was so much hostile to the idea of reform. His special policy was of annexation. He was against every reform because that was sure to spoil the chances of annexation. There is nothing unnatural, if for the same reason he received coldly Colonel Sleeman's proposals regarding the reform of the administration of Oudh. In disgust the officer resigned his post and wrote to him at last, on 11th September, 1854:—

"Proof enough of bad government and neglected duties were given in my Diary. The duty of remedying the evils and carrying out Your Lordship's views, whatever they may be, must now devolve upon another" <sup>2</sup>.

General Fraser was also treated in no better way. Lord Dalhousie recorded his entire disapproval of the Resident's (General Fraser's) policy of reform and in course of time recalled him, so as to do *more freely what he wanted*. That Lord Dalhousie was determined to take advantage of the situation in which the Nizam was placed can be known from what he wrote in connection with the Subsidiary Forces also. He wrote in 1853: "It is further proposed that the advantage should be taken of this opportunity to obtain from His Highness some modifications of the terms on the Subsidiary Force is furnished to him" <sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ludlow, *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Sleeman, *Oudh*, II, p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that if the force was to be reduced no revenues were to be refunded to the Nizam. *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 114.

What respect can we pay to his scruples and tender mercies can be understood from the next point. 'We may only say that "when repelling General Fraser's suggestions that he should interpose as Guide, Teacher, and Protector he (Lord Dalhousie) evidently looked forward to some future opportunity of interposing as Dictator and Master. He fixed his eyes on some delightful vision of disorder and anarchy in the dependant state inviting its total absorption, a vision which equally in both cases (of Hyderabad and Oudh) would be dispelled for ever by 'unwelcomed' measures of reform"<sup>1</sup>. He did not "wish for their reform but for some catastrophe that might lead to their fall or screen their extirpation"<sup>2</sup>.

He himself wrote in his minute of the 27th May, 1851:—

» Whatever may be the condition of His Highness' administration, it cannot be said *as yet* to have materially affected the security of any portion of British territory or to have damaged the interests of British subjects.

» So long as the alleged evils of His Highness' Government are confined within his own limits, and affect only his own subjects, the Government of India must *religiously* observe the obligations of its own good faith"<sup>3</sup>. As if the treaty and its obligations had not been violated already by him!

#### 6. WAS LORD DALHOUSIE JUST TO THE NIZAM?

We now consider the next problem. The Treaty of 1800 according to his own opinion did not mean that the Nizam should maintain the contingent in peace or war. But what did the noble Lord do to afford relief to one who was materially wronged? His secretary H. M. Elliot wrote to his Leadenhall Street masters on the 4th January, 1851:—"You have further urged that whatever arrangements be made for the payment of debt, it should also embrace a similar provision for the regular payment of the Contingent. Judging from the experience of the past His Lordship feels little

<sup>1</sup> Bell, *Retrospects and Prospects of Indian Policy*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76; *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-54), pp. 38-40.

doubt of the measure becoming eventually indispensable, and probably we shall find ourselves compelled to retain permanently, for the regular payment of the Contingent, those districts which we now occupy temporarily for the liquidation of the debt"<sup>1</sup>. Lord Dalhousie wanted to recover the money spent by the British on behalf of the Nizam, *without his explicit consent* on the Contingent, which the *latter was not bound to maintain even in the opinion of his Lordship*. Supposing for the sake of argument that he was bound to recover the money, can any body justify his act of *making any arrangement with the Nizam* for "the regular payment of the Contingent" hereafter, when the Nizam, as Lord Dalhousie believed, was not bound to maintain that Contingent?

The tyranny of His Noble Lordship can be still better realized when it is remembered that he himself wrote to the Nizam on the 6th January, 1851, in the following strain:—"The debt already incurred consists chiefly of the advances made for the payment of the Contingent force. *The efficient maintenance of that force is a duty imposed on the Government of Hyderabad by the stipulation of the existing treaties*. Your Highness is well aware that the efficient maintenance of the force is *not only necessary to fulfill the obligation of the treaty*, but that it is *essential for upholding Your Highness' authority within your own dominions and is the main support on which depends the stability of your throne*"<sup>2</sup>. Mark the inconsistency of His Lordship in the light of what is already quoted as his opinion on the true interpretation of the treaty of 1800<sup>3</sup>.

The sad story of the part of Lord Dalhousie, played in this drama, does not end here. He now went one more step

<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854) p. 12. This shows the height of inconsistency when we compare his utterance on this occasion with those quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> *Nizam, Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> See Article XVII, by which it was agreed that "if the Zamindars, subjects or dependents of His Highness should withhold the payment, or excite rebellion or disturbance, the Subsidiary Force shall be ready to reduce all such offenders to obedience". *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 11.

forward, and expressed in 1853 in the following manner:—  
 “If the Nizam should turn round upon us and deny the obligation existing by treaty<sup>1</sup>, I am bound as a public man to say that I could not honestly argue that there was any other warrant than *that of practice* for upholding the Contingent. I could argue, and have argued, that His Highness’ conduct has hitherto given that construction to the treaty and till that is rejected and resisted, there is an obligation upon him to support properly the Force, which under that construction, he has allowed us to organise”<sup>2</sup>. That was a statesman’s great stroke.

The Noble Lord in continuation *once again* admits that, “if he (the Nizam) were to *take his stand upon the treaty*, I could not argue that either the *letter or the spirit* of it bound the Nizam to maintain 9,000 troops of *peculiar* and costly nature *in peace*, because it bound him to give 15,000 of his troops *on the occurrence of war*”<sup>3</sup>. Lord Dalhousie says further:—“In so far as His Highness may have tacitly accepted such an interpretation of the treaty, and in that he did actually consent to maintain permanently a military force of the nature of the Contingent I hold that His Highness is unquestionably bound to provide adequately for it”. His Noble Lordship concludes his new theory of “*Volenti non fit injuria*”. in these words: “I am not to be understood that we have no right to require from His Highness the regular payment of the Contingent as it has stood, or that we have wrongfully compelled His Highness to maintain it, or that it has been kept up wholly for our interests and has been of no value to His Highness. On the contrary I have already observed that the Nizam having nearly for 40 years consented to maintain such a fixed force on certain terms, he was solemnly bound to fulfill these terms, at least as long as *his original consent* to its maintenance was not withdrawn”<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mark in this case the words of several authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

This was the height of the Noble Lord's statesmanship.

#### 7. WAS LORD DALHOUSIE SYMPATHETIC TO THE NIZAM?

When the Nizam was required in 1851 by the Resident to give up certain districts, he observed; "It was not customary with the Honourable Company to transfer territory to its creditors"<sup>1</sup>. The Nizam was perfectly right when he urged this point. The British had to pay a huge debt of 2 crores to Oudh *in this very year* and instead of transferring to the State one square mile of land, Lord Dalhousie suggested the annexation of the whole kingdom. However feeling the strength of Dalhousie, the Nizam consented to pay off the whole debt of 64 lakhs in about three months. Half the sum was paid at once<sup>2</sup>. The balance he could not pay in time, for, says Gribble, "it was imposible to press blood out of a stone"<sup>3</sup>. But in December 1851 he managed to pay 8 lakhs more. At last in 1853 the debt again rose to 46 lakhs. It was in that year that Lord Dalhousie "expressly admitted (once again *in direct opposition to his own letter of the 6th January 1851*): "That the Nizam was under no treaty obligation to maintain the Contingent". He admitted as expressly "that the aggregate expense of the Nizam's Contingent is unusually and unnecessarily heavy, whilst its quality is not better than that of the bodies less highly paid".

How sympathetic Lord Dalhousie was and what consideration he showed to the old and faithful ally of the British can be seen from the fact that he demanded at this stage "a cession of districts in discharge of the debt and the *standing* expenses of the Contingent; the cession to be demanded, even if the Contingent should be disbanded, to meet the expenses of the force during such disbandment, which must be gradual"<sup>4</sup>. Could not the Nizam expect

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<sup>1</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> "How the Nizam managed to pay this instalment is not exactly known. Some of it was taken from his private treasure and the balance by pledging some of his jewels to native bankers". Gribble, o. c., p. 209.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7 1854), pp. 96-116.



more real sympathy and generosity from the Noble Lord?

General Fraser who was more in favour of reforms was re-called and Colonel Lowe was sent as Resident in his place with a new treaty. His Noble Lordship was on this occasion as insolent as he was insulting. Mr. Bright said in the House of Commons on June 24th, 1858: "Only think of a Governor-General of India writing to an Indian prince, the ruler over many millions of men in the heart of India, these words: '*Remember, you are but as the dust under my feet*'. Passages like these are left out of the despatches when laid on the table of the House"<sup>1</sup>. Other statements of Lord Dalhousie equally painful were: It is dangerous to provoke the resentment of the British Government "whose power can make you as the dust under foot and leave you neither a name or a trace"; . . . "the indignation of the Government of India can crush you at its will"<sup>2</sup>.

The Nizam was averse to the new treaty and he said to the Resident:—"I do not want it however, much soever you or any other person or persons may fancy it to be advantageous to my interests"<sup>3</sup>. The Nizam however sat up "nearly all night"<sup>4</sup> to compare the two Treaties, the old and the new one. On the next day (30th April 1853) he met the Resident all excited. "His face was much flushed", says the despatch of Colonel Lowe. The Resident at first believed that the Nizam was drunk. However the Resident admitted that he never knew him "more acute in argument or more fervent in conversation"<sup>5</sup>, than on this occasion. The Nizam asked him: "Did I never make war upon the British Government or intrigue against it or to do anything but co-operate with it and be obedient to its wishes that I should be so disgraced?"<sup>6</sup>. The Nizam further added: "Two acts on the part of a sovereign prince are always reckoned dis-

<sup>1</sup> Ludlow, *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Gribble, o. c., II, p. 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (26-7-1854), p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

graceful; one is to give away unnecessarily any portion of his hereditary territories, and the other is to disband troops who have been loyal and faithful in his service"<sup>1</sup>. He appealed to the Resident to trust to His Highness' word that he would pay the whole debt after some time. At last he burst out and said:—

"Gentlemen like you, who are sometimes in Europe, and at other times in India; sometimes employed in Government business, at other times soldiers; sometimes sailors, and at other times even engaged in commerce — at least I have heard that some great men of your tribe have been merchants — *you cannot understand my feelings in this matter*. I am a sovereign prince, born to live and die in this kingdom, which has belonged to my family for seven generations; you think I could be happy if I were to give up a portion of my kingdom to your Government in perpetuity; it is totally impossible that I could be happy; *I should feel that I was disgraced*. I have heard that one gentleman of your tribe considered that I ought to be quite contented and happy if I were put upon the same footing as Mahomed Ghouse Khan<sup>2</sup>; to have a pension paid to me like an old servant, and have nothing to do but to eat and sleep and say my prayers . . . . *You, too, don't comprehend the nature of my feelings as a sovereign prince*; for instance, you talked of my saving at least eight lakhs of rupees (£ 80,000) per annum by making this treaty, as something that I ought to like. Now I tell you, *that if it were quite certain that I could save four times eight lakhs of rupees, I should not be satisfied, because I should lose my honour by parting with my territory*"<sup>3</sup>. Alas! the appeal was all in vain, because we are told that "No remonstrances or *Solicitations* could be admitted, and that the Governor-General's *determination was fixed irrevocably*"<sup>4</sup>. Could not the old and faithful ally expect more sympathy?

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> The Nawab of Arcot, or of the Carnatic, whose title was extinguished two years later on his death.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> (*Blue Book*, "Nizam's Debt", p. 43). Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 208.

## 8. WAS LORD DALHOUSIE GENEROUS TO THE NIZAM?

"In order to pay off the whole debt still remaining due to the British Government, the Nizam had resolved to pawn his jewels up to the value of about half a million sterling (5 crores of rupees)"<sup>1</sup>. Some well-wishers of the State thought of a plan to form a State Bank in Hyderabad, financed by the leading *sowcars* under the managing directorship of an Englishman, Mr. Dighton. To this Bank His Highness handed over his jewels and received a loan of 40 lakhs of rupees. "Before however he had time to pay it over to the Resident the Governor General interfered"<sup>2</sup>. The Noble Lord refused to sanction the formation of this Bank on the grounds that it was against the Act of George III, which prohibited all financial transactions between Europeans and native princes, without a proper license.

Supposing for the sake of argument he was right in interfering because apparently the managing Director, a *European*, was to carry on the transactions on behalf of the State Bank; this would mean that only was necessary a license of the Government of India. Lord Dalhousie nevertheless was not ready to grant this license to one European in the whole concern of the natives we know not. But it is a fact that Lord Hastings had granted *the same license* to a *purely European concern* — the Palmer & Co. The fact remains clear that he did not like to be generous to the Nizam who had, therefore, to pay back the amount to a Bank in Holland, where Mr. Dighton had deposited the jewels, under the circumstances most romantic indeed, in order to redeem them<sup>3</sup>.

One more act of the Noble Lord must still be quoted to indicate if he was generous to the Nizam. "For a period of 41 years from 1812 down to 1853 the British had levied and *retained* the excise revenue of the two cantonments of Secunderabad and Jalna. For those sums no account had been

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 213-14.

submitted”<sup>1</sup>. In 1851 the Hyderabad Government put forward a claim of 41 lakhs *without interest*, and suggested that this should be taken as a set-off against the amount of debt of 43 lakhs of rupees<sup>2</sup>. But the Noble Lord urged that a “*problematic claim*” could not be credited to the settlement of an “*actual debt*”. Mark the high handed policy of Lord Dalhousie and the consequent agony of the Nizam in the light of the two facts:—

(i) *That after the Treaty of 1853 was signed by the parties, “it was admitted that those revenues properly belonged to the Nizam, and from that time they had actually been collected by his Highness”*<sup>3</sup>. Colonel Davidson in reference to this debt wrote after the treaty of 1853: “I have always been of opinion that, had the pecuniary demands of the two Governments been impartially dealt with, we had no just claim on the Nizam for the present debt of 43 lakhs of rupees”<sup>3</sup>.

(ii) *That whereas in 1853 the cost of the Contingent was 40 lakhs it was reduced to 24 lakhs by the same Noble Lord in 1855. What a remarkable reduction which suggested itself after the confiscation of Berar! “Why should the unnecessary burden have been allowed to rest on the shoulders of the Nizam, untill the actuated debt threatened to bring the State to bankruptcy and ruin? A reduction of this kind effected 5 years previously would have wiped out the whole of the debt”*<sup>4</sup>.

Lord Dalhousie had no time to wait and inquire into what he called the *problematic claim* or the question of reducing the cost of the Contingent before compelling the Nizam to sign the treaty of 1853. He had no compunction to confiscate Berar in settlement of this debt, because just to the Nizam he was not friendly and sympathetic. But there is still

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 222.

one more question to be asked to conclude this essay in order to point out *that it was under such pretexts and pretences*, some of which I have thoroughly exposed, that *the Nizam was deprived of the richest part of his territory*. The Nizam was never allowed to assign such districts as would be most convenient to himself<sup>1</sup>. An English authority frankly admits: "We selected these districts as *adjoining our own provinces*; and as *being specially improvable*"<sup>2</sup>. He rightly asks: "Are we justified in seizing with a strong hand that to which others have an equal or perhaps a better claim? *There are hundreds of others who have claims on the Nizam's Government fully as legal as our own*. What right have we to alienate these provinces from the general purposes of the State and apply their revenues exclusively to the payment of the Contingent and the gradual liquidation of our own debt, with interest. I do not see how we can disregard claims similar to our own"<sup>3</sup>.

What was the cause of His Noble Lordship's earth hunger? In 1854, he penned another Minute (*Nagpur Papers*) in which he said: "The essential interest of England requires that the territory of Nagpur should pass under British Government. The great field of supply of the best and cheapest cotton grown in India lies in the valley of Berar (ceded by the Nizam) and in the districts adjacent to it"<sup>4</sup>. Those districts were in Nagpur. And because this cotton field was inaccessible for want of good roads, the possession of Nagpur was also deemed essential by the Noble Lord. He applied his another famous doctrine of lapse and satisfied his same earth hunger to his heart's content by securing Nagpur as well.

#### 9. WAS LORD DALHOUSIE THE WELL WISHER OF THE HYDERABAD STATE

In concluding this essay I quote below the opinions of several contemporary authorities to show that the Governor-

<sup>1</sup> Could not Lord Dalhousie, a "creditor", give the necessary option to a "debtor" to decide for himself what districts he should part with for the purpose of a guarantee?

<sup>2</sup> Major Moore, in *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Nizam Papers*, (15-4-1859), p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ludlow, *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, p. 59.

General felt no hesitation to sacrifice higher principles, so intensely cherished by his comrades in the Indian Administration, while depriving the Nizam of the Kingdom of Berars in 1853. These authorities have taken for granted the validity of the act of Lord Dalhousie from legal point of view, which I have so freely criticised on the basis of overwhelming evidence against it. But they have protested against the conduct of Lord Dalhousie on superior and noble grounds which probably had no signification in the opinion of His Lordship.

(1) Major Moore says:— "I object to the treaty (of 1853) because I am convinced it will ultimately prove eminently disadvantageous, and perhaps even ruinous to the pecuniary, the political, and sovereign interests of the Nizam. It is possible we might be able to justify our proceedings with reference to legal right<sup>1</sup> and the maxims of writers on international law, *but we shall never be able to do so on the higher and superior grounds of a liberal and generous treatment of the Nizam, and a maintenance of that principle by which we always professed to be influenced, viz. a desire to uphold, not to subvert the Nizam's independence. We shall, in my judgement, have broken that word of promise to the sense which we have spoken to the ear*"<sup>2</sup>.

(2) "Because, as already observed, we might have had a legal right to insist upon the Nizam's cession to us of a part of his country in payment of the debt he had incurred, and which experience had shown he was either unable or unwilling to liquidate, yet the inforcement of this right involves a great increase of the Nizam's embarrassment, particularly as regards his irregular troops, already in a constant state of mutiny from the arrears due to them, and will thus lead to the decline, and *finally to the annihilation of his authority as an independent prince, which we have always professed it to be our intention and bona fide desire to maintain.* It would have been more just and more generous

Such "legal" rights have been already discussed.  
*Nizam Papers, (15-4-1859), p. 3.*

to have avoided such a result, and to have negotiated with him (in lieu of this partial, and, as it will no doubt prove, permanent cession of a part of His Highness' territories) for our entire and exclusive control of the administration of the country for a limited period, *when we might have restored it to him free of its embarrassments*, and in that condition of order which would have *ensured the welfare of the country*, and *upheld the Nizam himself in the position he ought to be in amongst the princes of India*"<sup>1</sup>.

"I shall conclude the observations I have ventured to make, by appending to this dissent a short extract from the papers of the late *Henry St. George Tucker*, than whom a more able and energetic man never occupied a seat in this Court, as I consider the views therein expressed as peculiarly applicable in this case:—

'We are told indeed that our Government has become the *paramount power* in India; and as such may deal with its vassals and dependents according to the dictates of an enlightened policy. True, we wield the power of the sword, and our political supremacy is everywhere acknowledged; but we do not possess, and never can possess, *the power to violate treaties, the power to do wrong and to commit to do injustice, the power to dominate over those who cannot resist us* while we hesitate to enforce it in our relations with those States who enjoy, with a large territory, a greater degree of independence.

'To apply to the weak a rule which it would be unsafe to extend to the strong would *ill become the British character*; and I must contend that in giving effect to the obligations of a treaty, we consult alike the dictates of justice and of sound policy' "<sup>2</sup>.

(3) Colonel W. H. Sykes says: "Admitting that the debt were founded upon a legal, equitable, or moral basis, *it militates against the high character of the British Government for justice and generosity* that a prince who, on more

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

occasions than one, when the chief native powers in India were in confederation to crush the British power, *proved himself a faithful and efficient ally*, should not experience the utmost degree of forbearance on the part of the British Government. . . . The severe measures proposed to the Government of India are a *mockery of the tone, professions, objects, and spirit of the treaty of 1800*, which, in Article XV, holds the following language: 'As by the present treaty the union and friendship of the two States are so firmly cemented as that they may be considered as one and the same'. And Article XVII holds the following language: 'By the present treaty of general defensive alliance, the ties of union, by the blessing of God, are drawn so close that the friends of one party will be henceforward considered the friends of the other, and the enemies of one party as the enemies of the other'. *Nevertheless, our acts militate in every sense against such professions*'<sup>1</sup>.

In spite of all the above protests of the members of the Court of Directors, the treaty of 1853 was concluded. It contained a clause that any surplus over expenditure on administration, consisting of three items:

- (a) the maintenance of the Contingent at the numerical strength of 7000 men;
- (b) the liquidation of debt amounting to 48 lakhs;
- (c) the payment of the cost of the administration; was to be paid to the Nizam, and the British Government was bound to furnish the accounts.

Lord Dalhousie did greatest dis-service to the State of the Nizam in this treaty by making no stipulation regarding what the cost of the administration should be. "In Captain Davidson's<sup>2</sup> own words, there was a distinct understanding that the cost should not exceed 200,000 rupees"<sup>3</sup>. The same

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Asst. Resident.

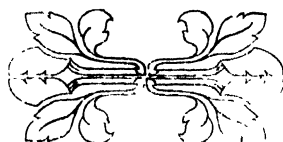
<sup>3</sup> Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 221.



authority, after six years, wrote on the 6th July, 1859: "There is no doubt General Low allowed the former minister, Suruj-ul-mulk, and the present one, Sarlar Jung, to suppose that our management would cost about two annas in the rupee, or about 12 per cent of the revenue"<sup>1</sup>.

This history of the Contingent and of the cession of the Berars could be followed down to the time of Lord Curzon and Lord Reading. This further development nevertheless falls beyond the limits of our study.

Ibid., p. 227.



# The History of Early Buddhism in India.<sup>1</sup>

By Prof. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M. A.

At all times and in all ages orthodoxy has always been shadowed by heterodoxy. So long as human instinct is what it is, we cannot mark out an epoch or period of history in any country when all the inhabitants in that period and in that country were members of absolutely the same religious sect. Broadly the religion followed by the whole country may be the same in general principles, but it is open to any sect of the vast community to embrace certain beliefs and customs which may be the outcome of environment and culture. We know for certain the influence of geographical conditions on history. What is true of one culture is also true of others. Coming to India, ever since the dawn of her history, we unmistakably find heterodoxy flourishing side by side with orthodoxy, almost always in the camp of orthodoxy itself. To make ourselves more clear, in the so-called Vedic times of our history there was certainly the orthodox party following the Vedic prescriptions and injunctions. Yet in the heyday of this Vedic supremacy we find different communities like the *Vrātyas*, the *Dānavas* and the *Dasyus*, who were to all intents and purposes members of the great community and religion<sup>2</sup>, but still had different views of life, had different manners and customs, some of them being heterodox to the devout follower of the Veda. We shall presently show that the Buddhist sect was one such unorthodox sect, the origin of which can be traced as early as the *Brāhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad* literature of the Hindus.

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<sup>1</sup> Submitted to *The Fifth All-India Oriental Conference*, Lahore, (Nov. 1928.)

<sup>2</sup> There is an opinion in certain circles that these classes were un-Aryan and opposed to the Vedic cult. It all depends on what one means by the word Aryan. If by the term 'Aryan' we mean an orthodox member of the community, to that extent, the *Vratyas*, and the *Danavas* were un-Aryan. Surely they did

That the Buddhist movement came into birth before the teachings of Gautama Buddha is evident. The form of belief known to us as Buddhism existed long before this event. The words Buddha and Śramaṇa, as pointed out by Weber, are titles of honour given to sages and seers of the Vedic and Vedantic Schools, though in later times appropriated by the Buddhists as peculiarly their own<sup>1</sup>. Weber remarks: "The Buddhist doctrine was originally of purely philosophical tenour, identical with the system afterwards denominated the Sāṃkhya and that it only gradually drew up into a religion in consequence of one

not possess orthodox views of religion but took a different view of life and religion. The traditional interpretation easily solves the tangled problem of races, classes, and other subdivisions of the peoples which belong of right to the domain of ethnology. Before social polity or the division of the whole society into four communities—the Brahman, the Ksatriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra—came to stay in this land, the whole community of peoples was classified into three broad divisions: the *Satva*, the *Rajasa* and the *Tamasa*, according to their qualities and aptitude in life. Those who were *Satvikas* were, we can say, the so-called Aryans, meaning in its widest sense 'orthodox'. Those who were of the *Rajasik* temperament were known by the term Asuras. Literally असुराः रमन्तेऽति असुराः । Those who enjoy life and at the same time keep some show of their splendour and magnificence. The Raksasas belonged to the *Tamasic* class. Ignorance prevailed among these people. They revelled in worldly pleasures and charms of life. 'Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof', was their motto. With the establishment of the social *sthiti* or social order later on, communities of peoples became divided into four classes for the sake of the world's progress and country's welfare. This is known by the term *Varnasrāmadharma*. As before among each of the four *varnas* there were Aryas, Asuras and Raksasas. For example among the Brahmins there were Arya Brahmins, Asura Brahmins and Raksasa Brahmins; again among the Sudras: the Arya Sudras, the Asura Sudras, the Raksasa Sudras. According to tradition Ravana was a Raksasa Brahman. In the light of this interpretation we venture to remark that the so-called unorthodox classes were members of the same religious fold though with a different bent of mind.

Weber, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 27.

of its representatives having turned with it to the people" <sup>1</sup>. The same authority is disposed to connect the Śākya, who are the family of which Buddha himself came, with the Śākāyanins of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and also with the Śākāyanas of the *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣad*. The doctrines promulgated by Yājñavalkya in the *Brhad-Āraṇyaka* are in fact completely Buddhistic, as also are those of the later *Atharvopaniṣads* <sup>2</sup>.

These references though not directly to Buddhism, as we now understand by it, serve to indicate the tendencies and influences of theories other than the accepted orthodox ones. Differences of views as regards philosophical notions existed always and were also respected. A wordy warfare was certainly indulged in by the exponents of the different theories, and as certain as anything the orthodox party came out successful. Among such ardent exponents of Schools of thought the Buddha takes the first rank. For, example is better than precept. Though other teachers waxed eloquent over their precepts, it was the Buddha who put them in practice so that the significance of his doctrines might appeal to the people. Thus we can say that a fresh impetus was given to the already growing movement by the preachings of Gautama, and even here it is not plausible to argue that he founded a new religion altogether different from the established religion of the land. The pieces of evidence are mainly literary and are to be gathered from canonical and other books reduced to writing centuries after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. The voluminous legends which have grown around this notable sage of ancient India may or may not be historical. Granting that the tradition is well-founded, we have reasons to show that tradition narrates that the Buddha did not found a new religion but a monastic sect. We shall presently demonstrate however that while founding this sect of monachism all the rules and regulations of the prevalent orthodox sect of Sannyāsins formed a convenient model to copy and to follow.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 285.

Let us now proceed to examine the important practices and institutions of Brahmanic ascetic life and incidentally trace the rise of the Kṣatriya ascetic orders. According to Hindu social polity, or the *Varṇāśramadharma* system, the whole community was divided into four classes and four orders or stages of life. The new society provided certain conventions and regulations to keep up orderliness in the community. It was prescribed that vocations of all these different classes be hereditary, and hence practically fixed. While the first class included the group of philosophers and teachers, the second included the group of warriors and rulers. It was further prescribed that the first class or the Brahman, had four stages of life (*āśrama*), — the Brahmacharya or the life of celibacy, Gṛhastha or the life of the householder, Vānaprasta or forest life and the Sannyāsa or a life of renunciation. The second and third classes, the Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas, were debarred from the last *āśrama*—the Sannyāsa, though Vijñānēśvara quotes a view of one Sūtrakāra according to which they are also eligible for the Sannyāsa<sup>1</sup>. The reasons are obvious. From the duties expected of those classes namely protection and commerce it would not be practical politics to allow them take to a life of renunciation. If this were allowed it would defeat the great principle of the Nīti literature—the *lokayā-tīa* or the progress of the world. Penance and meditation would be only fruitful in a country where the hand of protection is assured from both internal and external enemies of the kingdom, and where again people live in peace and plenty because of increased trade and commercial transactions<sup>2</sup>.

But as time rolled on there were certain changes in the regulations of social order. So long as the Kṣatriyas found their avocations in fighting and ruling, the realm

1 अन्ये तु वैवर्णिकानां प्रकृतत्वात् 'त्रयाणां वर्णानां वेदमधीत्य चत्वार आश्रमाः इति सूत्रकारवचनाच्च द्विजातिमात्रस्याधिकारमाहुः ॥ See *Yajñayavalky asmr̥ti*, p. 335. (Nirnayasagar Press edition, 1926).

2 प्रचार समृद्धिः of Kautilya.

the old order continued. According to tradition as transmitted in our *Purāṇa* texts, the Kṣatriya rule of ancient India came to an end with the great Nandas. The extirpation of the Nanda dynasty and the usurpation, victory, and establishment of the Mauryas in Magadha saw the downfall of monarchs of true Kṣatriya blood. The social order was set at naught and he who was the most powerful, of whatever caste he may be, won the crown. It must not be understood that this social disruption came only after the Nandas or even immediately before the Nandas. The germs of discontent with the existing order were smouldering for long, and fanned by the flames of Mahāvīra and Gautama, burst into glowing fire in post-Buddhistic epoch.

Mahāvīra and Gautama then can be regarded as the representatives of the Kṣatriya movement which aimed at ascetic life. Both of them were Kṣatriyas. After a period of worldly life both became disgusted with the vanity of the world and took to ascetic robes with the firm conviction that such a life alone will tend to salvation, *mokṣa*, *nirvāṇa*, *Kaivalya*, *mukti*, all connoting the same meaning. When influential members of society became the founders of a new cult, no doubt they commanded a pretty number of adherents to that cult. Such deviations are brought to the notice of the sages and seers of the epoch of the Upaniṣads. For the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* gives them the title of a *parivrājaka* (Sannyāsin), who gives up the pleasures of family life <sup>1</sup>, who discards wealth <sup>2</sup> and disregards everything worldly and material <sup>3</sup> and who lives by begging <sup>4</sup> knowing himself <sup>5</sup>. Commenting on the word 'प्रव्रान्ति' the *Mitākṣara* remarks: "Those who relinquish absolutely all *Karmas*" <sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> पुत्रैषणायाः ।

<sup>2</sup> वित्तैषणायाः ।

<sup>3</sup> लेकैषणायाः ।

<sup>4</sup> भिक्षार्थं चरन्ति ।

<sup>5</sup> आत्मज्ञः । *Bṛhad*, ch. IV, 4, 22.

<sup>6</sup> प्रकर्षेण सर्वाणिकर्माणि न्यस्यन्तीति । *Bṛhad*, Anandasrama Sanskrit Series, No. 31, p. 198.

The Sannyāsa is of two kinds. One is *vividiṣā sannyāsa*. Under this category comes he who hankers after the knowledge of Ātman and who therefore proceeds by the beaten track, namely, the study of the Vedas, the performance of Yajñās, the bestowing of gifts and the doing of penance without expecting any reward<sup>1</sup>. The other kind of Sannyāsa is the *vidvat sannyāsa*. This implies becoming an ascetic without undergoing all the discipline, but abandoning the world so soon as one gets *vairāgya*. This is the stage when a man subdues all passions and desires, and becomes completely indifferent to the worldly pleasures and sorrows. There is no *niyama* or injunction for this. At any stage of life a certain person can take himself to this form of asceticism<sup>2</sup>. From the term ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति । of the *Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* we have to infer that the first kind of Sannyāsa is mainly intended for members of Brāhmaṇa community. Though the *vidvat sannyāsa* is equally applicable to that community again, still it is reasonable to assume that members of the Kṣatriya community sought shelter under the second category and took to the fourth *āśrama*, though according to the orthodox opinion this kind of Sannyāsa was no *āśrama sannyāsa*.

That the Kṣatriyas had the right of Sannyāsa and the institution was in practice in early times is evident from the tradition transmitted in the *Mahābhārata*. After the carnage at Kurukṣetra, Yudhiṣṭhira feels disgusted with life and all its pleasures and expresses his innermost desire to take to Sannyāsa. Bhīma accepts the Sannyāsa system as *Śāstraic* and remarks that it is welcomed only in times of danger, old age or when a powerful enemy is at the gate<sup>3</sup>.

Arjuna further dissuaded Yudhiṣṭhira and narrated to him the story of Janaka, king of the Videhas, who gave up pal-

<sup>1</sup> तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसा ऽ नाशकै-  
तमेव विदित्वा मुनिर्भवति । *Brhad*, ch. V, 4, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Chandogya Upaniṣad*, ch. III.

<sup>3</sup> *Santi*, ch. X-XVII.

आपत्काले हि सन्यासी कर्तव्य इति शिष्यते ।

जरया ऽ भयपरीतेन शत्रुभिव्यसितेन वा ॥

ace life for the one of a wandering mendicant <sup>1</sup>. Thus Arjuna speaks with approval of Kṣatriya Sannyāsa in practice. In replying to his brothers, Yudhiṣṭhira is firm in his opinion and says: "I know the Śāstras and what they aim at; the Vedas declare only two things: Do your duty (*Karma*) and give up the world (लज्ज)" <sup>2</sup>. The fruit of the latter is eternal bliss<sup>3</sup>. In other words, ritual and asceticism are two aspects of Indian religion <sup>4</sup>. In about ten chapters there is a learned discussion as to the utility and the right of a Kṣatriya to embrace asceticism. Criticism and discussion of a theological character were never resented. In the course of the lengthy argument we are led to infer that several Kṣatriyas, perhaps of a lower order, donned mendicant's robes thereby to find means of subsistence <sup>5</sup>, though a few were really actuated by honest motives. In that way members of all castes took to ascetic life which grew to be the 'accepted mode of religious culture'. As an ascetic the unemployed layman or woman assured himself or herself of some sort of livelihood either from the public or from the state. Such things are mentioned in Kauṭaliya as of common occurrence<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps the system of feeding the ascetic without the latter endeavouring for it began with the Buddha; or rather the provision of food, clothing, housing, and medicaments was itself an endeavour on the part of the Saṅgha to inspire it <sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ch. XVIII.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ch. XIX, 1.

वेदाहं तातशास्त्राणि अपराणि पराणिच ।

उभयं वेदवचनं कुरुकर्म त्यजेतिच

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., XXX.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 1, p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> *Santi*, ch. XVIII, 34.

अनिष्कषाये काषायमीहार्थमिति विद्धि तम् ।

धर्मश्वजानां मुण्डानां वृत्यर्थमिति मे मतिः ॥

<sup>6</sup> The expressions: परिव्राजिका वृत्तिकामा *Ar. Sas.*, Bk I, 10;

and मुण्डो वा जटिलो वा वृत्तिकामः *Ibid*, Bk. XI, 1, point out to their existence long prior to Kautalya.

<sup>7</sup> *Vinaya*, 1, 58. See, for more details, Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1, *Introd.*, p. XVII.



The word *dvija* in Sanskrit literature is used in two senses. It simply means the twice-born. The investing of the sacred thread or the ceremony of Upanayana to the members of the first three classes makes them twice-born. Originally the term connoted a wider interpretation referring to the members of the three communities. But later on it seems to have been restricted to the members of the Brāhmaṇa community alone. The reason is not far to seek. With the ushering in of the Kaliyuga and the consequent intermixture of castes, the pure type of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya classes began to disappear. The four castes practically reduced themselves to two, the Brāhmaṇs and the non-Brāhmaṇs. At this time the *dvija* meant a Brāhmaṇ only. This is how we have to reconcile the *Hārta* and other law texts which make the *dvija* take to ascetic life<sup>1</sup>. Vijnānēśvara also contends on the authority of Manu and the *Śruti* that asceticism is only for the Brāhmaṇ and not for other castes<sup>2</sup>.

We have to suppose that when the Buddha became enlightened to the knowledge of the Self, there were restraints which deterred the members of the Kṣatriya community from becoming ascetics. By constant *saṃskaras* in different previous births, Gautama had attained to the stage of *vai-rāgya*. Most of the names occurring in the Buddhist legends, as the names of the Buddha in his prior births, are found in the Vedic literature. When the supreme knowledge came to him unasked, he set out on a wandering life leaving the pleasures of palace life. But still he was in the Kṣatriya fold, and hence orthodox opinion was against him. Necessity then drove him to gather a few adherents from among his own community. Thus we find the Buddha in his first sermon at Benares speaking of his doctrine as that 'for the sake of which sons of noble families leave the house and

<sup>1</sup> *Harita Samhita*, VI, 4.

<sup>2</sup> उपक्रमोपसंहारायां मनुना ब्राम्हणस्या वा अधिकार प्रतिपादनात्ब्राम्हणाः प्रव्रजंतीति श्रुतिश्चाप्रजन्मन एवाधिकारो न द्विजातिमात्रेत्येति. । See *Yajñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 335. (Nirnaya Sagar Press ed., 1926).

enter the state of houselessness'<sup>1</sup>. Thus it was a sect which dissented from the established orthodox religion. It was primarily intended for the Kṣatriyas, as against the prevailing opinion that the fourth *āśrama* was of the Brāhmaṇs alone.

Gautama realised the weakness of his sect with a handful of followers. He wished to organise it so as to give a permanent character to it. Towards this end he did not make any new innovation. The Brāhmaṇ order was a convenient model and he unhesitatingly copied it. He wanted however to give a new colour to keep it alive. So he argued that *Vijñāna* or knowledge is Ātma, while the Vedantins philosophised that the Ātma is *Vijnana* or *Vijnanamaya*. In other detail the views, practices, and opinions of the orthodox school were followed<sup>2</sup>. Professor Jacobi says: "Both Jainism and Buddhism owed to the Brāhmaṇs, especially the Sannyāsins, the ground-work of their philosophy, ethics and cosmogony"<sup>3</sup>. Here it is suggestive to notice that the Jainas were originally a branch of the Buddhist sect. This observation is not entirely new, for Weber<sup>4</sup> and Lassen<sup>5</sup>, have expressed a similar opinion. Though there are more points of coincidence, as ably pointed out by Lassen, between the two sects, there was this distinction which made them separate themselves into two branches of the common stock. While the lay adherent formed an integral part of the Jaina organisation, not even a formal recognition of him was made in the Buddhist order<sup>6</sup>. In other words the Buddhists were a purely monastic community and took no lay disciples and hence did not interfere with the caste system. The Jainas, on the other hand, admitted lay disciples

<sup>1</sup> Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, I, Introd. p. XXXI (S. B. E., XXII); Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 15, etc.

Yassatthaya Kulaputta Sammad eva agarsma anagariyam pabbajauti!

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Max Müller, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi, o. c., p. XXXII.

<sup>4</sup> Weber, *Indische Studien*, XVI, p. 210.

<sup>5</sup> Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, IV, p. 763.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Hoernle's Presidential address, 1898, before the Asiatic Society of Bengal, quoted by Rev. G. P. Taylor in his introduction to Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*.

and accepted the institution of caste. The Caturvidha Śaṃgha of the Jaias included the Sādhu, the Sādhvī, the Śrāvaka and the Śrāvikā. The Upāsaka of the Buddhists was not a *de facto* member of the Buddhist Śaṃgha. It may be pointed out here with advantage that the theories that Buddhism and Jainism were against the caste system and its exclusiveness have no historical foundation.

This is also provable on other grounds. It is a true observation of A. Weber that the Buddha recognised the existing caste system and explained its origin as the Brāhmaṇs themselves did, by the dogma of rewards and punishments for prior actions<sup>1</sup>. Gautama acknowledged that in some ages the Brāhmaṇs were superior to the Kṣatriyas; had then a supreme Buddha appeared, he should have been born of the Brāhmaṇical caste<sup>2</sup>. In the Jātakas again Gautama says on the authority of one Vidura that there are ten kinds of Brāhmaṇs<sup>3</sup>. In another Jātaka tale he recognises the superiority and the inferiority of castes<sup>4</sup>. In one place the Master commands that the pious householder<sup>5</sup> ought to perform the five *balis*: to the family, the seers, the pitṛs, the king and the gods<sup>6</sup>. There is another interesting passage quoted by H. Kern from the *Anguttara Nikāya*: “Attā it. Purisa, jānāii saccam vā yadi vā musā”. Kern is of opinion that it may probably be a quotation of some *Dharma Śāstra*<sup>7</sup>. This confirms our view more and more that the Buddha had great regard to the then existing creed and codes, and utilised them so far as they suited his doctrines which were not so much at variance as some scholars would make us believe<sup>8</sup>. “In the treatise of *Sigālovāda*, says Kern, the Buddha teaches a layman the

<sup>1</sup> Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism*, p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> *Dasa-Brahmana-Jataka*, Cowell-Rouse, *Jatakas*, IV, p. 227-237.

<sup>4</sup> *Sambhuta Jataka*, Cowell, *Jatakas*, IV, p. 390-391.

<sup>5</sup> *Gahapati ariya savaka*.

<sup>6</sup> *Anguttara Nikaya*, II, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 68.

duties generally acknowledged in the Indian Smṛtis" <sup>1</sup>. Again in the *Dhammapada*, for which the Buddhagoṣa wrote a commentary in Pāli in the first half of the 5th century A.D., there is an interesting chapter on the Brāhmaṇ. Here it is said: "Because a man is rid of evil, therefore he is called Brāhmaṇa; because he walks quietly, therefore he is called Samana; because he has sent away his own impurities, therefore he is called Pravrajita". Again: "In whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brāhmaṇa" <sup>2</sup>. In the *Buddhagoṣoutpathi*, though a later work, there is the story of a *mahātera* reciting the three Vedas (*Trayi*), and explaining the knotty points therein to Buddhagoṣa when the latter was young <sup>3</sup>.

But what is more valuable and important is a portrayal of the attitude of the Buddhists towards the Brāhmāṇ householders to whom they owed their sustenance, as gathered from the *Iti Vuttaka*, one of the canonical books of Buddhism under the second division of the Piṭakas—the *Suttat Piṭaka*—and claimed to be the authentic logic of the Buddha <sup>4</sup>.

"107. Exceeding helpful to you, O monks, are Brāhmaṇ householders who present you with garments, offerings (*Pindapāta*), beds, seats, requisites for sickness, medicines and utensils. And ye verily, O monks, are exceedingly helpful to the Brāhmaṇ householders, for ye point out to them the Law of their first, middle, and last good actions, and ye do proclaim unto them the life of chastity, with its meaning and its characteristics absolutely complete and perfect. Thus by mutual reliance, O monks, a life of chastity is lived for the sake of crossing the Flood (of earthly

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E., X, ch. 26. The pali Buddhist canon is divided into three Pitakas, the Vinaya, Sutta and Abhidhamma. Of these the *Sutta Pittaka* consists of five Nikayas: *Dighanikaya*, *Majjhima*, *Samyutta*, *Anguttara*, and *Khuddakanikaya*. About fifteen works come under the category of the *Khuddakanikaya* and one of them is the *Dhammapada*.

<sup>3</sup> Law, *Life of Buddhagoṣa*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Moore, *Iti Vuttaka*, p. 125. (New York. ed.)

longings) and for the sake of properly making an end of Misery”.

From these it is provable that there is no warrant to the theory that the Buddha was against the caste system as such.

The equally interesting theory, that is again untenable as we shall presently see, is that the Buddha was against the Vedic sacrifices. This is an examination of the concept of *ahimsa* as realised by the founder of the creed. Among the four points of coincidence between Jainism and Buddhism drawn attention to by Lassen<sup>1</sup>, one is *ahimsa* or non-injury to living beings. Though the Jainas carried this principle too far, the Buddhist conception was the same as found in several books of the great Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*. It would not be out of place to quote a few texts from this poem. It is said that it is a most excellent creed to be non-violent towards all creatures<sup>2</sup>. In chapters 173-175 of the *Anucāsānika Parvan* there is a learned discussion as regards the doctrine of *ahimsa* and the question of flesh eating. It is Yudhiṣṭhira who says that the principle of *ahimsa* is recognised by the Veda as the *dharma*<sup>3</sup>. Śrī Kṛiṣṇa, who preached with all eloquence at his command to Arjuna that he must fight out and kill all his kith and kin in the battle, preaches with equal force the principle of *ahimsa* to him<sup>4</sup>. This means that one could be non-violent without prejudice to his *svadharma*, for *svadharma* is always superior to any other *dharma* or practice of virtuous qualities.

There seems to be an opinion that the Vedic Yajña was questioned at first only by the Buddha. But tradition as transmitted in the epic literature may be credited with having started a similar theory already. In more than one place the intrinsic value of the so called bloody sacrifices has been

<sup>1</sup> Lassen, o. c., IV, p. 763.

<sup>2</sup> अहिंसा सर्वभूतानां एताकृत्यातममं मतम्: *Asvamedha Parvan*, ch. L, 2.

<sup>3</sup> अहिंसालक्षणेन धर्मवेदप्रामाण्यदर्शनात् ॥

*Anucāsānika Parvan*, ch. CLXXVI, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhagavat Gita*, X, 5; XVI, 2.

questioned. In Chapter 92 of the *Aśvamedha Parvan* there is the following story:—Once there were no rains for a long time. Famine stalked the land in all nakedness. People preferred death to living. At that time Agastya began what was known as the *Dvādaśa vārṣika yajna*. But still it was not fruitful. The state of rainlessness continued. The sage burst into anger and spoke of creating another Indraloka, etc. There he expresses that he would adopt *chinta yajna* and *sparca yajna*, forms of sacrifice where there will be no question of *himsa*. The Rṣiviks bestow praise on Agastya and approve of the removal of *himsa* from the sacrifices<sup>1</sup>. In the *Anucāsani-ka Parvan* there is a prohibition against flesh eating. In the opinion of superior *śiṣṭas* the non eating of flesh and meat will tend to endow one with health, fame, long life, prosperity and heaven<sup>2</sup>.

It is further said by Bhīṣma that meat, in whatever form, attracts the sensation of taste and enslaves him who eats it. The meat of animals is compared to the flesh of one's own son. Flesh is considered as the vilest food for human beings. He concludes that non-violence is the basis of all religions. In chapter 173 Yudhiṣṭhira asks the grandsire that in one place he said that meat was sacred to gods, to pitṛs and others, and in another place he preached abstention of meat. He added he was unable to reconcile both the statements Bhīṣma says that several discourses took place between the sages in the ages gone by and the result of such discussions was that *ahiṃsa* was the great dharma, virtue, gift, penance, sacrifice, bliss, friendship, happiness, and unequal merits<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> भवतः सायगिष्टातु बुद्धहिंसा विवर्जिता ॥ *Asvamedha*, ch. XCIV, 33,  
एतामहिंसां यज्ञेषु ब्रूयात्स्वं सततं प्रभो ।

प्रीतास्ततो भविष्यामो वयंतु द्विजसत्तम ॥ *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> धन्यं यदास्यमायुष्य स्वर्ग्यं स्वस्ययनं महत्

मांसस्याभक्षणं प्राहुः नियताः परमर्षयः ॥ *Anucasanika*, ch. CLXXVII.  
36. See also *Santi*, 345.

<sup>3</sup> अहिंसा परमो धर्मस्तथा ऽ हिंसा परो दमः ।

अहिंसा परमं दानमहिंसा परमं तपः ॥

But an householder can use meat sanctified with mantras for Vedic rites as an *akāma*, (with no intention of eating it himself). If he does as a *sakāma* (with an intention to eat it) he commits sin<sup>1</sup>. In those days, they say, the sages, doubtful as to the propriety of eating meat, performed sacrifices with seeds<sup>2</sup>. Still the doubt lingered in their minds. They, therefore, approached Vasu, the king of the Chedis, to have their doubts cleared. The king replied that meat could be taken. But for committing this sin he lost heaven. When he was asked for a second time he repeated the former opinion and for this sin he was sent to the nether world. Upon this the sage Agastya prescribed once for all wild animals be dedicated to the celestials<sup>3</sup>.

It is here reasonable to ask, is it not *himsa*, whether the animals involved in the sacrifice are wild or domestic? Why did the sage recommend then wild animals? It is explained by the term प्रोक्षिता in verse 57 of the chapter. The commentator quotes the *śruti* 'पर्यग्निनकृतानां रण्यानुत्सृजन्तीति'; and comments upon the same as follows: -आर्घ्यैर्यज्ञं कृत्वापि तेषां बधो न कृत इत्यर्थः. This refers simply to the dedication of animals in the sacrifice. When once they are dedicated, they are let loose, with the idea that mere dedication has pleased the gods. Thus there is no act of killing the animals. On the strength of this *śruti*

अहिंसा परमो यज्ञस्तथा ऽ हिंसा परं फलम् ।

अहिंसा परममिन्नमहिंसा परमं सुखम् ॥

सर्वयज्ञेषु वा दानं सर्वतीर्थेषु वा पुत्रम् ।

सर्वदानफलं वा ऽ पि नैतत्तुल्यमहिंसया ॥

अहिंसस्य तपसो ऽ क्षय्ययमहिंसो जयते सदा ।

अहिंस सर्वभूतानां यथा माता यथा पिता ॥

एतत्फलमहिंसायां भूयश्च कुरुपुङ्गव ।

नहि शक्या गुणा वक्तुमपि वर्षशतैरपि ॥

Ibid., ch. CLXXVIII, 40-44.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ch. CLXXIX.

<sup>2</sup> भूयते हि पुराकल्पे नृणां व्रीहिमयः पशुः ।

येनायजन्त विद्वांसः पुण्यलोकपरमगणाः ॥ Ibid., ch. CLXXVII, 54.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ch. LV-LVIII.

Agastya must have set apart wild animals. As this statement occurs in the *Aśvamedha yajña prakarana*, our orthodox pandits will have it applicable only to the *aśvamedha yajña*. Still it bears testimony to the tendency prevalent in later times that *himsa* may be discarded in *yajñas*.

Thus we see that the question of sacrifice has been opened long before the age of the Buddha, and in spite of discussions the conclusion was that meat could be used for *vaidic* rites only, and ordinarily one must not indulge in meat<sup>1</sup>. While Brāhmaṇical ascetics are strictly forbidden to take dishes of meat, the Buddhist monks did not abstain from fish and meat. Under certain restrictions the Buddha allowed the eating of fish and meat, though Devadatta raised the standard of revolt against such practice<sup>2</sup>. There are several Jātakas wherein there is infallible testimony that flesh eating was common among the Buddhists. From the express prohibition of taking the flesh of men, elephants, horses, dogs, asses, etc., Kern rightly remarks that the flesh of other animals was not forbidden food<sup>3</sup>. Further in chapter IV of the *Mahāparinibhāna Suttanta*, in response to an invitation by the smith Çunda at Pava (*Cundo Kammāraputto*), the Buddha visited the latter place and partook of the dishes containing pork (*Sūkara-maddavam*)<sup>4</sup>. This brought on him an illness which proved fatal ultimately<sup>5</sup>. From these we infer that the principle of *ahimsa* preached by the Buddhist teacher was no more than what Bhīṣma taught to king Yudhiṣṭhira. It may also be noted that among the five *ma-hāvratas* expected to be observed by every ascetic, the place of honour is given to the practice of *ahimsa*<sup>6</sup>. The legislator further speaks of a twofold purity, both outward

<sup>1</sup> विधिहीनमांसम् न भक्ष्येत ॥ Ibid., ch. CLXXVII, 53.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahavagga*, VI, 31, 14; *Cullavagga*, VII, 3, 15; *Majjhima Nikaya*, I, 368.

<sup>3</sup> Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> *Digha Nikaya*, II, pp. 126-128. Cf. S.B.E., XI, pp. 70-72, 84.

<sup>5</sup> Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 355-358.

<sup>6</sup> *Baudhayana Dharma Sutra*, II, 10, 41.



and inward. The latter is realised only by *ahimsa* <sup>1</sup>.

We have been trying so far to prove that the Buddha did not attack the caste system; that the principle of *ahimsa* was not peculiar to this sect, and that as far as possible the Buddhists did not break from the established tradition of the land. Accordingly Kern says: "He (the Buddha) repeatedly extols the morals and virtues of the ancient ṛsis. The Dhamma is the ensign of the ṛsis" <sup>2</sup>. Exemplary ṛsis were Asita, and Devala, notwithstanding their heterodoxy (*bāhiraka mārga*) <sup>3</sup> from the point of view of the Buddhists.

It is then difficult to escape the conclusion that early Buddhism did not abound in surprises. If there were any new innovations, they were in minor details. The Upaniṣads afforded a precedent, and the Buddha followed it. Professor Keith writes:—"Nor in choosing the term Dhamma for the system, was Buddhism without Upaniṣad precedent; the *Brhadāranyaka* (1-4-14) tells that Brahman created the Dharma, than which nothing is higher, and the *Mahānārāyaṇa* (XXI-6) asserts that the whole universe is encircled by the Dharma, than which there is nothing harder to describe" <sup>4</sup>.

That the Buddhists did not hesitate to adopt the articles of morality and other regulations concerning monachism of the Brāhmaṇs is obvious. One fundamental difference was in philosophy. There is an opinion, not without reason, that originally the sect had no moral code except the general prescriptions and injunctions which were in common with the general laws of society. "The more we try to remove the difficulties, the more we are driven to the suspicion that original Buddhism was not correctly that of the canonical books" <sup>5</sup>. The ten precepts of the Buddhist order are the following: not to destroy life, not to steal, not to be

<sup>1</sup> अहिंसया च पृतात्मा मनस्सत्येन शुद्धयति ।

Ibid., III, 1, 22-23. Cf. Ibid., III, 10, 14. Here *ahimsa* is regarded as penance itself.

<sup>2</sup> *Angutara Nikaya*, II, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, II, p. 550.

<sup>5</sup> Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 50.

impure, not to utter falsehood, not to serve intoxicants, not to take forbidden meals, not to take part in theatrical amusements, not to use pungents, not to go in for a soft couch, and not to have any lust after gold. The *dharma* peculiar to the Sannyāsins is given in similar terms in the *Mānavadharmasāstra*<sup>1</sup>. The outfit of a Bikṣu then was that of a Brāhmaṇ ascetic<sup>2</sup>. So far the ethics of the Buddhist sect were concerned, there is nothing strikingly original. The three sins of the body, and four sins of speech, the three sins of mind and five other evils are all found in the *Dharmaśāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras*<sup>3</sup>. That the *trividya* or the three *Vedas* were not neglected or condemned, and the Vedic idea of the union with Brāhma was not disregarded is evident from a pregnant statement: "Verily this, Vasettha, is the way to a state of union with Brahma"<sup>4</sup>. Further the Buddha has belief in the doctrine of *karma*, which Warren calls one of the hardest of doctrines<sup>5</sup>. The theory of rebirth according to *karma* is the unassailable Hindu theory which the Buddha could not easily ignore.

Also the Buddhist custom of holding a meeting once a fortnight, especially on the full moon and new moon days, points to the borrowing of this custom from the Vedic rites:—the *aupavasta* and the *darśapṛṣṭinamāsa* performed on the *parva* days in every month<sup>6</sup>. These meetings are said to be penitential gatherings wherein the faults committed are confessed and atoned for by every member of the order. Furthermore the Buddha kept *Vassa* (rainy season) three months every year surrounded by groups of his disciples, when kings and the wealthy contended for the honour of entertaining him and his disciples. This period being over, then began the season of itinerancy from town to town and village to village, sometimes with as many as five hun-

<sup>1</sup> Manu, VI, v. 39 ff: Cp. *Yajnavalkya*, III, v. 56 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Baudhayana Dharma Sutra*, II, p. 10, s. 17, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 477.

<sup>4</sup> *Tevigga Sutte*, III, 2, (S. B. E., XI); Cf. Moore *Iti Vuttaka*, 68 and 69, pp. 77-78.

<sup>5</sup> Warren, *Buddhism In Translations*, H. O. S., III, p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 142.

dred disciples'. The *Vassa* generally commenced the day after the full moon in the month of Āṣāḍa, or one month after the full moon in the month of Āṣāḍa.

This is but a copy of the *carturmāsya* of the Brāhmaṇa Sannyāsins. Sankha, the law giver, prescribes two months' stay in the rainy season in the same place, and Devala and Kaṇva prescribe four months commencing with the śrāvaṇa month. In other seasons Kaṇva rules only a day's stay in the village and five days' stay in a town<sup>2</sup>. What was done by the Buddha, and that existed before him, is still in practice today in our country. Our Śāṅkarācāryas spend their retreat in the rainy season with their disciples in a place from where there had been an invitation. But these disciples are almost all lay people and not monks as the Buddha had. The congregation of *sannyāsins* was not advocated. It is said by the law-giver Dakṣa: "If two monks joint together it is a gathering, if three joint together it is a grāma and any number above four is a town". The reasons given for prohibiting congregation are also given as follows: "Taking part in present day politics, speaking about the food served to them, breeding jealousy and hatred among themselves"<sup>3</sup>. Unlike their Brāhmaṇical brethren these Kṣatriya ascetics

<sup>1</sup> *Vinayapitakam*, I, *Mahavagga* III, Bk. 1, pp. 137-156.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mitaksara Commentary on the *Yajñavalkya*, III, v. 58.

उर्ध्वं वार्षिकार्यां मासार्यां नैकस्थानवासी' इति शङ्खस्मरणात् ।

अशक्तौ पुनर्मासचतुर्व्यन्तमपि स्थातव्यं न चिरमेकव

वसेदन्यत्र वर्षाकालात् । - श्रावणादयश्चत्वारो मासा

वर्षाकालः ' इति देवल्स्मरणात् । - एकरात्रवसेद्भा

नगरे रात्रिपञ्चकम् । वर्षारियो ऽ ऽन्यत्र वर्षासु मासांस्तु

चतुरो वसेत् ॥ ' इति काण्वस्मरणात् ॥

<sup>3</sup> एको भिक्षुर्यथोक्तश्च द्वावेव मिथुनं स्मृतम् ।

त्रयो ग्रामः समाख्यात उर्ध्वं तु नगरायते ॥

नगरं हि नर्कतव्यं ग्रामो वा मिथुनं तथा ।

ए तत्रयं प्रकुर्वाणः स्वधर्माज्यवते यतिः ॥

राजवार्तादि तेषां तु भिक्षावार्ता परस्परम् ।

अपि पशुन्यभात्संयं सन्निकर्षान्न ससयः ॥ Dakṣa, VII, 35-37.

founded a congregation, which naturally engineered such unhealthy influences that went a long way to bring about its disruption.

Furthermore the custom of worshipping foot-prints was already an old institution before the time of the Buddha. Its probable origin can be traced to the Vedic legend of Viṣṇu's stepping over the earth<sup>1</sup>. From the Nirukta of Yaska<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇupāda was at the Gaya Hill from which place it was believed Viṣṇu actually went up. This passage is, therefore, important as it shows that Gaya has long been regarded a sacred place, and the Buddha perhaps chose it to do meditation because it was a sacred place of orthodox people who derived their cult from the Rig-Veda<sup>3</sup>.

Another feature of the Buddhist congregation was the admission of women into the order. This was the weak spot of the whole system. We cannot say that there were no women Sannyāsins in the Brāhmaṇical fold. Bauddhāyana refers to the Sannyāsins from among the fair sex. But there is a definite prescription that the male saṅghika should not mingle himself with the female saṅghika<sup>4</sup>. Now granting that the Hindu Smṛitis recognised Sannyāsins of the other sex, the authors of the law-codes were careful to restrict their intercourse with the male saṅghikas, with the result that everything went on without much ado. But this was not so in the Buddhist order. It is true that the Buddha was at first not inclined to admit nuns to his order. He had his own misgivings. But he was prevailed upon by Mahā-pajapati the Gotamid, sister of the mother of the Blessed one<sup>5</sup>. Strict regulations were made and an order of nuns soon came to stay. But still the Buddha said: "If, Ānanda, women had not retired from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the

<sup>1</sup> 'इदं विष्णुर्निचक्रमे त्रेधा निदधे पदम्' ।

<sup>2</sup> Yaska, *Nirukta*, Daivata Kanda, pp. 848 ff. (Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, ed.)

<sup>3</sup> Jayaswal *Vaiṣṇava Worship and Buddhism*, I. A., XLVII p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mitaksara Commentary on the *Yajñavalkya*, III, 58.

<sup>5</sup> *Cullavagga*, X, 1.

Tāthagata, religion, Ānanda, would long endure: a thousand women have retired from household life to the houseless one under the Doctrine and Discipline announced by the Tāthagata, not long, Ānanda, will religion endure, but 500 years, Ānanda, will the good Doctrine abide"<sup>1</sup>.

Accordingly H. Kern remarks: "His (Buddha's) misgiving proved true by the subsequent events; the ladies, even Gautamī, were now and then fretful, and sometime afterwards when the Lord sojourned at Śrāvastī some nuns moved the indignation of the public by their scandalous behaviour"<sup>2</sup>.

Notwithstanding the few variations from the Brāhmaṇical codes, the Buddhist sect in its early form practically followed those codes, and we may close this section with the remark of the above distinguished orientalist: "No one unless unacquainted with Brāhmaṇical literature will fail to perceive that this superior morality is nothing else but the rule of life of the *dvija* in the fourth *āśrama* when he is a *yati* or *mukta*. The only plausible explanation is that all those superfluous details were bodily or with some modifications taken from *Dharmasūtras* and *Dharmaśāstras*"<sup>3</sup>.

In the light of the above observations it would be wrong to speak of a Buddhist India. Hinduism was so catholic that it absorbed within its fold all sects and sectaries though professing different views about life and God. Scholars of wide views and cautious judgment like Rhys Davids have called into question the intrinsic value of the well-founded tradition. We cannot definitely mark a time for the rise of Buddhism in India. It is a slow process of age-long evolution. The Buddha gave an impetus to the movement though scholars like Emile Senart opine that the Buddha, of whom Buddhist tradition waxes eloquent, has never lived as a man<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Mahāparinibhāṇa, Suttānta*, ch. V, s. 23; Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, H. O. S., II, p. 447. Cf. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *Cullavagga*, X, s. 9-27.

<sup>3</sup> Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Senart, *Essai sur La Légende du Buddha* (Paris, 1875).

In our opinion in the face of such strong tradition, to deny the existence of an historical figure is carrying research too far. Granting then the existence of the historical figure of the Buddha, is there any tangible evidence to indicate that Buddhism exercised any powerful sway in the Mauryan epoch or before? Rhys Davids remarks:—"We know, whether from native or foreign sources very little of what happened during the century and half that followed after the Buddha's death"<sup>1</sup>. This was the period of the Nandas and we have no details of their administration. In this period as in the time of the Buddha, the Buddhist monks found hospitable homes in Kośāla and Magadha, indeed a small fraction of the vast continent of India. We cannot judge of the whole of India from these two small kingdoms even where the influence does not seem to have been very great. From the *Mānavādharma Śāstra* and *Yajñavalkya*<sup>2</sup> we gather that these Kṣatriya monks lived side by side with the Brāhmaṇ ascetics, the latter being asked to retire from villages inhabited by these unorthodox monastic sects.

History cannot support the statement often heard that the Mauryas were followers of Buddhism. Jacobi's argument is convincing when he says that Kauṭalya recognised philosophy to be a science by itself, and hence he could bring in the *Lokāyata*, the character of whose contents must exclude it from the *Trayī*.<sup>3</sup> If Kauṭalya could recognise the *Lokāyata*, he could recognise as well the Buddhist philosophy, if the latter had really deserved the name of philosophy in his time. There is no warrant to the view that the Buddhist philosophical systems were ignored by Kauṭalya. The probabilities are that these systems gained currency only after Kauṭalya's time, in the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of our era. Chandragupta, the first king of the dynasty, owed his throne to the Brāh-

<sup>1</sup> Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *Manu*, ch. VI, 51; *Yajñavalkya*, III, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobi, *A Contribution towards the Early History of Indian Philosophy*, I. A., XLVII, p. 104.

man politician Kauṭalya, who seems to have been an absolute follower of the old Vedic religion. Sacrificial halls (*agnihotrasālas*) are mentioned as also worship to Indra, Varuna, Āśvins, etc. There are references in Kauṭaliya<sup>1</sup> to some heretical sects, the members of which found employment in the Intelligence Department and other administrative offices. Other recluses deserving of regard were shown due honour and respect. The same is the case with the great Maurya emperor and the grandson of Chandragupta, Aśoka. Though there is a consensus of opinion that Aśoka professed Buddhism<sup>2</sup>, and though others hold the view that he was a Jaina, we agree with the Reverend Father Heras, S.J., that he was neither a Buddhist nor a Jaina, but a follower of the established religion of the land what we may now call the earlier form of Hinduism. He held catholic views about religion and life and thought it *dharma* to be of help to every religious sect prevailing in his empire<sup>3</sup>. As Father Heras has dealt with this rather elaborately, I refrain from adducing reasons in favour of the theory that Aśoka was not a Buddhist.

Still I shall make one observation. Every one knows that Aśoka abstained from war after the Kalinga carnage. Was it due to Jaina or Buddhist influence? Our answer is negative. The ideal which Aśoka set himself was not the ordinary Kṣatriya duty, but that of a Kṣatriya of a higher order. More than once Yudhiṣṭhira, who heard of the *ahimsa* doctrine from his grandsire Bhīṣma as the highest Vedic religion, wanted to avoid battle. But when once the war was declar-

<sup>1</sup> Kauṭaliya also shows that this was in practice, "from the expression प्रव्रज्याप्रत्यवसितः 1 Bk., I ch. 12. Temporary renouncing of the world by sick men to get healed by honorary physicians of the confraternity, by warriors to escape active service, by fugitives from justice, debtors, runaway slaves and impecunious old gentlemen. Cf. Chalmers, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Introd., p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Professor Kern's *Versions of Some of the Asoka Inscriptions*, I. A., V, p. 257-276.

<sup>3</sup> Heras, *Asoka's Dharma and Religion*, Q. J. M. S., XVII, p. 255-276.

ed, he, as a Kṣatriya, took part in it. But after the terrible destruction of many a life, near and dear to him, he fell down unconscious being overwhelmed with sorrow<sup>1</sup>, and resolved to don the ascetic robes and never more be a king. Least was not the difficulty to reconcile him and make him accept the throne. On the eve of the Kurukṣetra battle again Arjuna refused to fight his own kith and kin. Did not Śrī Rāmachandra speak of Kṣatriya dharma as *adharma* in the guise of *dharma*. With a deep religious bent of mind then Aśoka followed the footsteps of his great predecessors Yudhiṣṭhira and Rāmachandra. Nothing more or nothing less was the ruling passion of the great Mauryan King. To interpret this in other ways is, in our opinion, to misinterpret the career of a glorious emperor.

With respect to the successors of Aśoka there is evidence of a rare order in inscriptions which prove that they were not Buddhists. For instance Daśaratha, the grandson of Aśoka, made three grants to Ājīvaka monks by bestowing the caves in the Nāgarjuni Hills<sup>2</sup>. Again about 184 B. C. the Śunga dynasty was founded by Puṣyamitra. He was commander-in-chief to Brīhadratha whom he overthrew by slaying him. The Buddhist annals make him out to be a persecutor of their faith and a strict follower of Brāhmaṇism. He could not have been as tolerant as the Mauryan monarchs were, and hence the Buddhists regarded him as a hater of their sect. Thus I am inclined to believe that there was no Buddhist ascendancy either before or during the epoch of the Mauryas, and therefore there was no reaction under Puṣyamitra or under his successors. We grant that the Buddhist monks continued to live side by side with their Brāhmaṇ brethren in a state of harmony and peace. But the fact that

<sup>1</sup> *Ramayana*, Ayodhya Kanda, ch. CIX, 20.

<sup>2</sup> तमार्ते पतितं भूमौ श्वसन्तं च पुनः पुनः ।

ददृशुः पार्थिवा राजन् धर्मपुत्रं युधिष्ठिरम् ॥

दृष्ट्वा दीनमनसं गतसत्त्वं नरेश्वरं ।

भूयः शोकसमाविष्टाः पाण्डवाः समुपाविशन् ॥



they took part in politics and administration of the land; lived together in congregation to which, according to the *Vinaya*, were recruited unworthy people who renounced for belly's sake, and who would go back to the world if food supply was refused; and allowed a large number of nuns to embrace their faith, brought about their downfall.

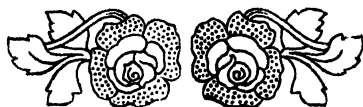
Whatever may be the later developments of these movements here and in other countries, Buddhism and Jainism in their early forms did not exercise any appreciable influence in the history of the land. Jarl Charpentier rightly remarks:—"It is a strange characteristic of these sects so far as I know them that they adopted in their ascetic practices and in their whole mode of life the rules which had been already fixed by their Brāhmaṇ antagonists"<sup>1</sup>. There is no warrant to statements like this of Rhys Davids: "The name was retained but the idea was entirely changed"<sup>2</sup>. We shall conclude with the sane observation of Sir Charles Eliot:—"Though Hindu life may be cut up into castes and sects, Hindu creeds are not mutually exclusive and repellent. They attract and colour one another"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 150-151.

<sup>2</sup> S. B. E., LXXXI, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, Introd., p. 14.



# Three Madras Museum Copperplate Grants of Śaka 1544, 1565 and 1566

By B. A. Saletore, M. A.

The following copies of the Keḷaḍi and Baṅgar copperplate grants were kindly given to me by the Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J., who procured them from the Curator, Government Museum, Madras. To both my indebtedness is hereby acknowledged. These grants have already been noticed by Sewell in his *Lists*<sup>1</sup>.

## I THE KELADI GRANT OF ŚAKA 1544.

It opens with the usual invocation to Śambhu. It records that Eḍava Murāri, Kōte Kolāhala, Vishudha Vaidikādvaita Sidhānta Pratiśṭhāpaka, studying devotion to the Śiva-guru, Keḷaḍi Venkaṭapa-nāyaka's son, Bhadrappa-nāyaka's son, Vīrabhadrappa Nāyaka, on Āshvija Śudha Panchami, of the Prajōtpatti Samvatsara, of the Śālivahana Śaka 1554, made a gift of land in the Koppa Grāma, in the Keḷaḍi-sīma, (specified in detail), for the conduct of the service of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara worshipped at the Seṭhagōpayā Maṭha, of Uppāragiri, with all rights. The date of the grant is Śaka 1554 Prajōtpatti Samvatsara Āsvija Śudha 5. But 1544 + 78 = A. D. 1632, which is Āṅgirasa but not Prajōtpatti as stated in the grant. "The cyclic year Prajōtpatti corresponds to Ś. 1553"<sup>2</sup>. The date is not verifiable for want of other details<sup>3</sup>. The language of the grant is in modern Kannaḍa. It concludes with the usual verses about the witnesses—the Sun, and Moon, Wind, Fire, Sky, Earth, Water, Heat, Yama, Day and Night, the two Twilights and Justice—these know a man's actions. The signature is that of Sri Veṅkaṭāḍri.

<sup>1</sup> Sewell, *List, II*, p. 16 Nos. 106, 103, 104; Hendersen, *Catalogue of the Copper-plate Grants in the Madras Museum*, p. 72, No. 14; p. 60, Nos. 7 and 6; Rangachari, *A Topographical List of the South Indian Inscriptions*, II, p. 870, No. 297; p. 848, No. 4; p. 848, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Henderson, *o. c.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Shama Sastry, Ph. D., for the verification of dates in all these three copper-plate grants.

The mode in which the Kelāḍi Kings subscribed in their grants deserves to be explained. Apparently an insignificant point, it nevertheless speaks something about their faith. It has been taken for granted that they were Lingayats<sup>1</sup>; and that their two titles, "Vishudha Vaidikādvaita Siddhānta Pratishṭāpaka" and "Shivagurubhakti pārayaṇa", are a proof of their devotion to Siva. This is to some extent supported by the fact that the last Humcha chief, as mentioned in the Jaina accounts, was a Śiva-bhakta under the name of Gunte Vodeyar, the progenitor of the Kelāḍi family<sup>2</sup>. Buchanan speaks of the "Kilidi" family, which originally consisted of hereditary chiefs (Gowdas) of five or six cottages, and of their being Shivabhaktas of the Malavar caste<sup>3</sup>. Tradition lends support to the view that they were Sudras by caste<sup>4</sup>.

The origin of the family as given in the *Sivatattvaratnākara* by Basava Rāja of Kelāḍi, also speaks of the dream of Chowdappa, father of Sadāśiva, of the Linga, and of the treasure trove<sup>5</sup>. Buchanan relates of a dream which Sadāśiva had and of the temple of Ishvara which he built by orders of the god who appeared to him in the dream<sup>6</sup>.

There cannot be a doubt that the founders of the Ikkeri dynasty were reared in the atmosphere of Saivism. Whether in their zeal for the Śiva cult they converted many of the Jains into their faith or not will not be discussed here<sup>7</sup>. Almost all their inscriptions begin with an invocation to Śambhu. That the capital itself was a centre of Saivism can be made out from the fact that at Ikkeri there is a temple of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore*, II, p. 355, note.

<sup>3</sup> Buchanan, *A Journey through Malabar, Kanara*, II, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 178, note 1; Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> *Sivatattvavatnākara*, Kallola V, Ch. II. (Ed. by Rama Rao and Sundora Sastriar)

<sup>6</sup> Buchanan, o. c., II, pp. 255-256.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Heras, o. c., p. 529; Wilson, o. c., p. 62; Burnell, *The Karkat Statue*, I. A., II, p. 353.

Virabhadra with thirty-two hands<sup>1</sup>. An inscription of 1577 speaks of Rāma Rāya Nāyaka holding faith in Śiva as his chief aim<sup>2</sup>. In 1621 Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka re-established the grants of the Śringēri mathas<sup>3</sup>. Most of the Ikkeri grants were for the Mahattu mathas of the Lingayats. An inscription of 1709 ends in the following manner:—

“Wheresoever a yogiśvara performs the worship of Śivalinga but once, there dwell all tirthas, O Guha! A grant made to a Śivabhakta from love of Hara is declared to be pure, and the means of ever-lasting salvation”<sup>4</sup>.

Another of 1712 ends in the same manner<sup>5</sup>. In 1720 Sōmaśēkara granted lands for the expense of the Somēśvara temple at Tirtharājapura<sup>6</sup>. All these must lead one to the conclusion that the Keḷaḍi Kings were orthodox Saivites.

But were they really orthodox Saivites? The foundation of the principality is to be traced, not, as Buchanan relates, to a Badraconda, son of Basavappa, who received the name of Sadāśiva, in the reign of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya<sup>7</sup>, but to Sadāśiva Nāyaka, son of Chowdappa, who was appointed governor over Keḷaḍi by Emperor Sadāśiva<sup>8</sup>. Now, it must be remembered that the times of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, even granting that Buchanan's tradition has some truth behind it, were times when the Vaishnava influence was on the ascendancy. That Emperor's poetical composition, the *Amuktamālyādāya* is a proof of the rising tide of Vaishnavism<sup>9</sup>. Since the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya Vaishnavism was gradually spreading over the Empire. The Emperors themselves were Vaishnava in faith. The great Veṅkaṭa II was a Vaishnava<sup>10</sup>. Veṅkaṭādri, the brother of Rāma Rāya, conferred

<sup>1</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 475.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Sq, 5.

<sup>4</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Kp, 60.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VII, Sh, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1910-1911, No. 55, p. 126.

<sup>7</sup> Buchanan, o. c., II, 254.

<sup>8</sup> Heras, o. c., p. 178; *E. C.*, VI, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, Southern Circle, 1925, p. 91-92.

<sup>10</sup> Heras, o. c., p. 546; *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, I. c.

on Sadāśiva Nāyaka the governorship of Bāraṅkuraṛāyja <sup>1</sup>. True, under Veṅkaṭa II Saivism found patronage in Vellore, Ikkeri, and even in the little principality of Ullāl <sup>2</sup>. But however much the Nāyaks of Vellore and Ikkeri championed the cause of Saivism, it is certain that the faith of the monarchs, and the faith that was making giant strides over the Empire, must certainly have exerted some influence over them.

And we see this in the inscriptions and grants of the Ikkeri chiefs. In 1577 an inscription of Rāma Rāya Nāyaka describing an enquiry which he held as regards the mismanagement of the agrahāra of Sadāśivapura, opens with the usual obeisance to Ganādhipathi and to Śambhu, but also contains a salutation to the Boar <sup>3</sup>. The Boar can be traced to the Vaiṣṇava influence <sup>4</sup>. This inscription, however, ends with "Śri Sadāśiva". In 1616 Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka granted lands for the matha of the Rāmānuja sect at Ikkeri, and for the god Veṅkaṭeśvara <sup>5</sup>. In 1630 Virabhadra Nāyaka gave a gift to Timmana's son Linganna for the perpetual lamp of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara, in the pēṭe of Ratnapura in the Kariur-sime <sup>6</sup>. The grant under review records a gift of land by the same ruler to the authorities of the Saṭhagōpaya matha for the conduct of the service of the god Veṅkaṭeśvara. In 1640 Vīrabhadra Nāyaka granted lands yielding 80 varāhas in Maduvanke-nāḍ, for the expenses of the gods Lakshminarasimha and Sachchidānandēśvara, whom Purushōttumayya Rāmakṛishṇayya had set up in Tirtharājapura <sup>7</sup>. In 1641 again the same monarch granted lands for the Basarur matha, with an instruction that "out of this grant 6½ formerly granted for god Shankarnarayana at the stream of the village, will be paid at the regular time, and the balance of 67 varāha, 9 hana, 3 hāga will be taken for the matha" <sup>8</sup>. In 1664 Bhadrappa

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, Southern Circle, 1901, No. 168; Heras, o. c., p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Heras, o. c., p. 549.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 79.

<sup>6</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 157.

<sup>7</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 4, 31.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 88.





**Keladi grant by Virabhadra Nayaka, S.S. 1554.**  
(Reverse.)

granted to Lakshmana for the expenses of the god Shankarnarayana of the Shankarnarayana agrahāra on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra<sup>1</sup>. A grant of Sōmasēkara in 1665 contains an invocation to the Boar<sup>2</sup>. In 1666 together with Ganeṣha, the Boar is also invoked<sup>3</sup>. This epigraph ends with "Śri Kṛishṇa". In 1674 a grant of Vīrabhadra to Basavalinga ends with "Śri Rāmakṛishṇa"<sup>4</sup>. In 1702 there is again an invocation to the Boar<sup>5</sup>.

The grants issued in the year 1575 and 1577 are in the name of Śri Sadāśiva<sup>6</sup>. But in 1592 we have "Śri Veṅkaṭādrī"<sup>7</sup>. In 1604 we have again "Śri Sadāśiva"<sup>8</sup>, but from 1615 we have "Śri Veṅkaṭādrī"<sup>9</sup>. In 1659 there comes again "Śri Sadāśiva"<sup>10</sup>. In 1660 the King signs in the name of "Śri Veṅkaṭādrī"<sup>11</sup>. From 1662 till 1666 we have the name of "Śri Sadāśiva"<sup>12</sup>. But in 1666, as noted above, we have also "Śri Kṛishṇa"; and excepting the year 1674 when both "Śri Sadāśiva" and "Śri Rāmakṛishṇa" appear<sup>13</sup>, all the Ikkeri grants till 1740 conclude with "Śri Sadāśiva".

From the fact that the whole of the Empire since the days of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was permeated with the ideas of Vaishnavism; that the Emperors themselves were strongly Vaishnavite in their belief; and that grants in the name of "Veṅkaṭādrī" are intermixed with those bearing the signatures of "Sadāśiva", it must be evident that the Ikkeri rulers, who originally belonged to the caste of the Malavaru<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*,

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 110 and 136.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 204 and 5; Sb, 475.

<sup>7</sup> *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 107.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 185.

<sup>9</sup> *E. C.*, VI, Sg, 5; Kp, 61; VII, Sh, 2; VIII, Nr, 79; Sa, 108, 157; Tl, 3, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 49, 54, 56, 57, 62, 66, 82, 83, 84, 94, 97, 101, 165, 181, 182; *M. A. R.*, 1923, pp. 82, 88, 92, 95, 112.

<sup>10</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Tl, 81.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Sa, 44.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Tl, 7, 48,

53, 55, 76, 80, 85, 86, 92, 96, 145; *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sa, 53; Tl, 70, 73, 184, 188.

<sup>14</sup> Buchanan, l. c.



and as such were nurtured in the ideas of pure Saivism, must have for some reason, of state rather than of conviction, adopted a more liberal attitude towards the other faith that was making rapid and more powerful strides over the Empire. That the Ikkeri rulers were certainly broad-minded is evident from the grants which they made to persons who were neither Vaishnavites nor Saivites. A steady adherence to the Lingyat faith seems to have disappeared since the last days of Sadāśiva. Doḍḍa Sankana Nāyaka, the elder son of Sadāśiva, nominated by Bhadrappa as his successor, is said to have been deposed by Rāma Rāya for putting a Jangama priest to death <sup>1</sup>. An infuriated action of one individual might not have had, perhaps, much to do with the eclectic tastes of the Ikkeri monarchs. But it is evident that to a large degree they were tolerant rulers. In 1631 Vīrabhadra Nāyaka gave a gift of land to the Masuti (Masjid) at the Tāvāragere pond in Anandapura <sup>2</sup>. In 1719 Sōmaśēkara gave a grant of land to the Virakta matha in the Kalaūr village <sup>3</sup>. These together with the grants given above might explain to us the fact of a "Śrī Sadāśiva" being mixed up so often with a "Śrī Veṅkaṭādri" in their inscriptions.

### T e x t.

Namastuṅga shira shumbi Chandra Chāmara chāravēṭ-railōkyana (ga)rāmbha mūlasthambhāya Sambhave Svasti Śrī Jayābhayudaya Śālivāhana Śaka varusha 1554 neya Prajō-t patti samvatsarada Āśvija śu 5 yallu Śrimattu Uppārageri Sēthagōpayyana Maṭhada Veṅkaṭeshvara Devara devatā-vechake Eḍava Murāri Kōṭe Kōlāhala Vishudha Vaidikā Dvaita Siddhānta Pratishṭāpaka, Śiva guru bhakṭi pārayaṇa Keḷaḍi Veṅkaṭapa Nāyakara pautrarāda Bhadrappanāyakara putra Vīrabhadranāyakarū koṭṭa bhūdāna tāmbraśāsanada krama venta endare Keḷaḍi Sime vaḷagaṇa apive Koppada grāmadalli divige mānis jagadiṇda gadde kuḷaga 4 kke sunka rekhe ga 2<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.3 birāḍa dinda ga 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.0.<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> kke nillsidu ga 93<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.9,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Heras, o. c., p. 180.

<sup>2</sup> E. C., VIII, Sa, 108.

<sup>3</sup> E. C., VI, Kp, 46.

Śuddha 91<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>.<sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub> (?) ubhayam ga 3 llu ga 12 hanneraḍu varā-  
hakke saluva bhūmiyanu Śivārpitavāgi koṭṭevāgi ā bhū-  
mige saluva sarvasvāmyavanu prākumariyāde yalli āgumāḍi  
koṇḍu devatā vechchake kāla kālam pratiyallū naḍasikoṇḍu  
bahudendu koṭṭa dharma śāsana āditya chandrāvanilōnalas-  
cha dyau bhūmir āpō hridayam Yamas cha āhas cha rātrischa  
ubhē cha sandhye dharmascha janāti narasya vrittam Śri  
Venkaṭādri.

## II THE BANGAR COPPER-PLATES OF SAKA 1565 AND 1566

### A. *The Baṅgar Copper-Plate of Śaka 1565*

It opens with the usual invocation to Śambhu. It records a grant of land yielding 150 muḍis of rice, in Aḍyār (Mangalore Taluka), belonging to the Palace to Bhaṇḍi Yellappa Nāyaka's son, Dāsaṇṇa Nāyaka, in the Śaka year 1565 Svabhānu Samvātsara Kartika Bahuḷa Panchami (21st October, 1643 A. D.)<sup>1</sup>, for the maintenance of a matha which was built in a garden east of Koḍiyāl (Mangalore) fort, together with a tank, by Śankara Dēvī Baṅgar, sister of Vīranarasimha Lakshmappa-arasu Baṅgar. The grant ends with the usual witnesses, Sun, Moon etc., in the manner of the Keḷaḍi grants.

The Baṅgar family from whom both Lakshmappa-arasu and his sister Śankara Dēvī were descended, played a small but significant part in the relations of the Tulu people with the Portuguese in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was known to the Portuguese as Bangel, Banguel, Banghel, Banguer, and Bangheravan<sup>2</sup>. The origin of the Baṅgar family is interesting. The word "Baṅga" is very much allied to the word "Ganga". Vishnuvardana, it is related, defeated and killed in battle Chandraśēkara, the ruler of Gangavāḍi. On the death of Chandraśēkara, five followers of his, Kṛishṇapayya Karṇika, Veṅkaṭapayya, Karṇika Timmapayya, Jyōyisha Kuppa Bhaṭṭa and Balyāya, by name, at first hid themselves in the forests of Malenāḍ and then descended into Mēlbaṅgāḍi in Tuḷuva. When Vishnu's son Vīranarasimha, accord-

Sewell, *Lists*, II, 16; Henderson, o. c., p. 60; Rangachari, o. c., II, p. 848.

Della Valle, *Travels*, II, 302-303.

ing to Tuḷuva tradition, visited Tuḷuva, with the Ganga Prince, the son of Chandraśēkara, was presented to him by the five refugees. Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha had pity on the young Prince, and feeding him with his own hands with milk, granted him fifteen villages on the banks of the river Nētrāvati. These fifteen māgnes were the following:—Keḷa baṅgāḍi, Belataṅgaḍi, Mayabaḷalu, Uppinangaḍi, Puttūr, Moger nāḍu, Manināḷkuru, Bayirakajekāru, Baṇṭavāḷa, Koḍiyāl, Sajeepa, Harekaḷa, Varkāḍi, and Manjēśvara. And the Hoysaḷa ruler permitted the Ganga Prince to assume the name of “Vīra Narasiṃha Baṅga Rāya”. It was thus that Narasiṃha Baṅgar laid the beginnings of Baṅgar power in Tuḷuva<sup>1</sup>.

In the 17th century, however, this family seemed to have moved from the interior to the coast. For Della Valle, who passed through Canara in 1623, says in a letter dated 1st of December of the same year:—“It is a mile or little more, distant from Mangalore, towards the North, and upon the sea, and the King that ruled there and in the circumjacent lands being at this day driven out, is subject to Venkatapa Naieka. A musket-shot from Mangalore, on that side, is a small river which is passed over by a ruinous stone bridge and may likewise be forded. . . . the above-said mile is through cultivated fields, and then you come to Banghel, which is a rich soil, and sometime better peopled than at present”, etc. etc.<sup>2</sup>. The Baṅgas were the allies of the Portuguese. In 1569 the Viceroy, Don Luis de Atayde, “went to Mangalore, twelve leagues to the south, to settle some disputes there which were prejudicial to trade. The disturbances arose from the enmity between the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala, whose Kingdoms lay to the north and south of Mangalore respectively. The Viceroy was better received than anticipated. He had an interview with those two monarchs and settled their differences. On his return to Goa, he left with Antonio Botelho, the com-

Aygal, *Dakshina Kannada Jilleya Prachina Itihasi* (in Kannada), p. 267. (Snarada Press, Mangalore, 1923).  
Della Valle, II, p. 302.

mander of Barcelore, 600 men, and Antonio Cabral with three well-appointed vessels to protect that place from the sea”<sup>1</sup>. In 1599 the Portuguese waged war against Kunhale. The Commander Andres Furtado “proceeded to his destination (*i. e.* against Kunhale), and by the way dissuaded the King of Bangel and the Queen of Olala from assisting the Kunhale, as they had intended to do; he also took five ships from Mecca which were carrying relief to the enemy”<sup>2</sup>.

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century dark days appeared for the Baṅgar Kings. Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka, the Keḷaḍi King, and Abbakkā Dēvī, the Chowṭar Queen, waged war against the Baṅgar King and destroyed the Baṅgar fort on the coast. The causes of the struggle between the Chowṭar Queen and the Baṅgar King were the following:—

1 The Queen of Ullāl, which was the seat of the late Chowṭars, had married the Baṅgar King<sup>3</sup>. But somehow or other they fell out, mutual visits were stopped, jewels returned, and a war declared.

2 The Queen of Ullāl was an enemy of the Queen of Cārṇāṭe; and against the latter, who was an ally of the Baṅgar King, Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka came with a huge army. Abbakkā Dēvī made common cause with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka against both the king of Baṅgar and the latter’s northern neighbour, the Queen of Cārṇāṭe.

3 The Baṅgar king was a friend of the Portuguese. The Portuguese captain Miranda Anriques captured a rich ship belonging to the Queen of Ullāl, returning from Mecca. She in revenge sided with Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka against the Portuguese who had allied with the Baṅgar king<sup>4</sup>.

4 The faith of the Queen of Ullāl and that of the Keḷaḍi King was the same. Both were Saivites. The family deity of the Chowṭars was “Putia Sōmanātha”<sup>5</sup> (Puthigeya Somanātha, Putige being a small hamlet in the interior of Tu-

<sup>1</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, p. 548.

<sup>2</sup> Danvers, *o. c.*, II., p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, *o. c.*, II, p. 313; Aygal *o. c.*, p. 278. Mr. Aygal calls the husband of Abbakka Devi, the Chowṭar Queen, as Lakshamana Bangar.

<sup>4</sup> Danvers, *o. c.* II, p. 117

<sup>5</sup> Della Valle, *o. c.*, II, 341.

luva). The Keladi kings, as is well known, were staunch Śaivites. It was to their mutual interest to join against the Baṅgar King, whose god also being Sōmanātha, less orthodox, and who had allied with the foreigners, the Portuguese. It is about this war between the Keladi King together with the Queen of the Chawṭars against the King of the Baṅgar principality allied with the Portuguese that Mr. Rice speaks in the following manner:— “By espousing the cause of the Queen of Ullāl against the Baṅgār raja, he (Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka) came into collision with the Portuguese who call him, Venkapor, King of Canara”<sup>1</sup>.

About the year 1617-1618, “when Don João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, entered upon his duties as Viceroy, a war was in progress at Mangalore, where Salvador Rebeiro was in command. With the assistance of Dom Diego Coutinho, the Commander-in-chief of Malabar, he took the field against 11,000 natives, whom he defeated with a loss of only six men. The King of that Banguel or District, who was friendly with the Portuguese, not being able to protect himself against his enemy Ventaca Naik, made it over to them for defence, and it was accordingly placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha . . . Soon after this the Portuguese were attacked by a party of Canarese; and the Viceroy therefore sent Francisco de Miranda Anriques with eight vessels and reinforcements . . . Anriquez having captured a rich ship from Mecca, belonging to the Queen of Olala, she in revenge sent a body of men to assist the enemy, who now laid siege to the fort of Banguel, and burnt the town. A sharp engagement ensued, in which both sides lost heavily, but the advantage was claimed to have been in the side of the Portuguese. Anriques then made an attack on the fort of Olala but was repulsed and forced to retire”<sup>2</sup>.

The Baṅgar King fled to a place called Cognoroto<sup>3</sup>. This is the Portuguese way of naming Kānyarōtu, modern Kāsaraḡōḍu<sup>4</sup>. While writing about this war, Mr. Aygal says

<sup>1</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Danvers, o. c., II, p. 199 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, II, pp. 285-286; Aygal, o. c., p. 278.

<sup>4</sup> Gray, *Pyrard's Voyages*, I, p. 344.

that Mangalore was destroyed by the Keladi King<sup>1</sup>. This, however, was not the case. "He (Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka) did not take Mangalore, because he would not, answering the Queen of Olala who urged him to it. That they could do that at any time with much facility, and that 'twas best to let those Portugals remain in that small place (which was rather a house than a fortress) in respect of the traffic and wars which they brought to the benefit of their countries. After which he came to a treaty with the Portugals, by which he restored the ensigns he had taken from them, and by their means the King of Banguel surrendered the Fort, which Veṅkaṭapa, as I said before, demolished, besides making other conditions which are now under consideration, according as is above mentioned in my *Relation of the Embassy to Ikeri*"<sup>2</sup>.

In his letter dated November 22th, 1623, Della Valle speaks in detail of the Baṅgar-Ikkeri pact. "Veṅkaṭapa Naieka had already given our ambassador an answer concerning the affairs which he negotiated, and the Ambassador had prepared a despatch to be sent to the king of Banghel; also another for the Viceroy of Goa, giving him an account of his negotiation, when a Courier arrived from Banghuel with new letters, both for Veṅkaṭapa Naie, and the Ambassador, where upon consultation was held as to what answer to return to him; which was soon concluded on the part of Venkatapa Naieka to this effect, (being no other than what I have already mentioned) namely, that he would pay the king of Banghel 7000 Pagodas yearly, according to the Treaty of Peace, provided the said king would come and live in his Court, or in some other place of his country (excepting such lands as were formerly his, for fear he might make new insurrections), or else in Goa, or any of the adjacent places, namely in the island of Salsette, or some place there without the city; but in any case such wherein he may be subject to the Viceroy of Goa; so that Veṅkaṭapa might be secure that the said king of Banghel would live peaceably without making new

<sup>1</sup> Aygal, p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Della Valle, II, pp. 314-315.

commotions. But in any case (as he seemed to intend he would live neither in Veṅkaṭapa Country, nor in that of Goa, but would continue in Cagnoroto, where he was at present, (which is a place beyond Mangalore Eastwards, and belongs to another small but free Prince allied to Banghel, whither being near his quondam territories, he had betaken himself), or else would wander here and there like a fugitive and invader, disquieting these countries; then Veṅkaṭapa was resolved not to give him anything at all" <sup>1</sup>.

There was some talk of the Baṅgar King receiving Spanish aid <sup>2</sup>. But nothing substantial was given to the Baṅgar King by the foreign power which left him to the mercy of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. The Keḷaḍi King did not, however, break completely the Baṅgar power. Della Valle, it is true, speaks of the Captain-General of the Keḷaḍi King, a Moor of Indian race, by name Mūse Bai (=Mūse Byāri?) in the Banghel territories <sup>3</sup>. In 1653 there was a Baṅgar King called Kāmi Arasu Baṅgar, who gave grants of land to the temple of Vīrabhadra, in Indubettu, Futtur Taluk <sup>4</sup>. Mr. Ayyal speaks of Kāmi Rajā IV losing all power in 1763 when the British acquired the District <sup>5</sup>. One of their descendants lives at Baṅgāḍi. The Baṅgars were patrons of learning. About the year 1700 the poet Chandraśēkara flourished in the court of Lakshmaṇa Baṅgar <sup>6</sup>.

Traces of Baṅgar influence can still be seen in Tuḷuva. There are towns and families bearing the Baṅgar name. Buchanan speaks of an ancient city in Beltangandy, 32 miles east-north-east of Mangalore <sup>7</sup>, with a Jaina Temple and a fort belonging to the Baṅgar Rajas <sup>8</sup>. Baṅgāḍi, 24 miles north-east of Uppinangady, at the foot of the Ghats has ruins of a fort called "Baṅgār-Kottai" <sup>9</sup> (Fort of the Baṅgars)

Della Valle, II, pp. 285-286. Kasaragodu is to the southwards and not eastwards of Mangalore. <sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 287.

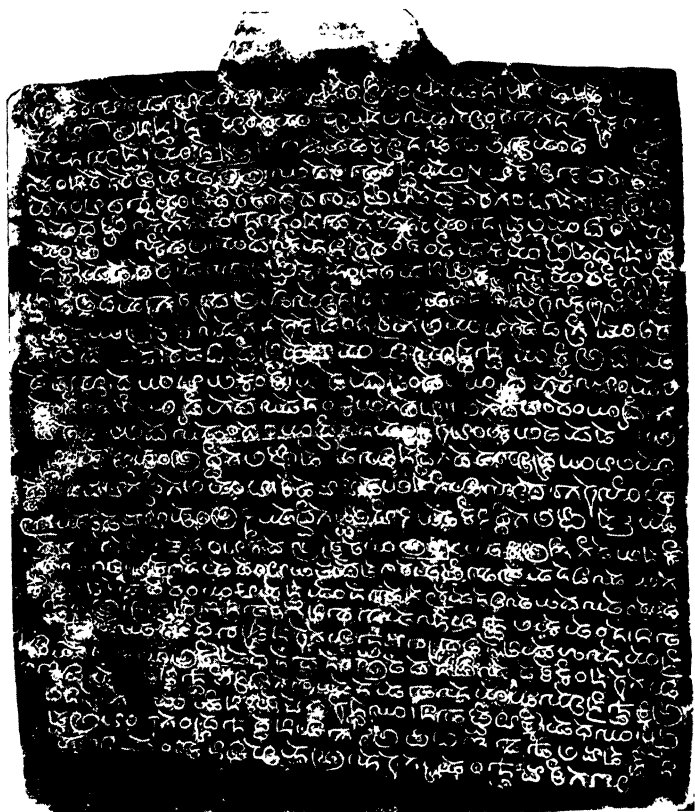
Ibid., p. 247. "Bai" the Editor says, is "Bey" a Turkish suffix. Sewell, *Lists*, II, p. 271. Here the Taluk is said to be Uppinangady. <sup>5</sup> Ayyal, o. c., 284.

*Kavicharite*, II, p. 526.

<sup>7</sup> Sewell, *Lists*, I, p. 237.

Buchanan, *Travels*, II, p. 249.

<sup>9</sup> Sewell, *Lists*, II, pp. 270-271.



Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1565.  
(Obverse,)





**Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1565.**

(Reverse.)

Baṅgra-Kūḷūru, in Harēkalā māgne, 4 miles north of Mangalore<sup>1</sup>, was named after a Baṅgar ruler. In Kuttiyār, in the Mujūra māgne, near Guruvāyinakere, 12 miles north-north-east of Uppinangady, there is a Baṅgar fort, and a mandapam called Baṅgar Dūpe. The Dūpe marks the spot where one of the former Baṅgars was interred<sup>2</sup>. Baṅgar-mangēśvara is a small Railway-station to the south of Ullāl. An influential and educated Billavar family in Mangalore goes by the name of the Baṅgars.

### T e x t.

Nirriḡnamastu namastunga shirastambi Chandra Chā-mara Chāra vetrai nagarambha mūla sthambhāya Śambhave Svasti Ōm jayābhuyodaya Śālivāhana Śaka varusha 1565 neya Svabhānu samvatsarada Kārtika Bahula Panchami Sthiravāradallu Śrimatu Viranarasimha Lakshmappa arasa Bangara vaḍa huṭṭida rāda Shankara Dēvi Rāṇi Baṅgaru Bhaṇḍi Yellappanāyakana maga Dāsaṇṇa nāyakage koṭṭa Dharmaśāsanada paṭṭiya krama vententa endare ninu Koḍiyālada Kōṭeya kelage kereyannu kaṭṭisi maṭhavannuṭṭi iikas ā maṭhada dharmmakke namage hēlikoḷalāgi namma aramane bhūmi Aḍyāra grāmadalli seṭṭiraliya gaivavaḷa (?) bayalaguttinindakaḷa sige mūrara ayivattu muḍi akkiya svāsthe bhūmiya chatus sime vivara—mūḍalu Kemmanjūru guḍḍeyindam paḍuvalu Teṅkalu bayalu bhāgada guḍḍeyindam Baḍagalu Baḍagalu kinna mūḍa guḍḍeyindam Teṅkalu Paḍuvalu Kumbale Timmana gadḍeyindam mūḍalu Valabayila bayalu bhāgada gadde samīpa paṭṭila gadde antu chatus sime yōlagaḍa bhūmige saluva bijavari bayalugadde bija doḍḍa muḍi 6paṭṭila gadde 3 kke muḍi 3 beṭṭugadde antu bijavari muḍi 12 kke saluva geṇi akki muḍi 50 ayivattu adakke banda maragaḷu baḍagalu māvina mara vōṭe mara 1 paḍuvalu binda mane 1 kke bāvi 1 māvina mara 2 mūḍalu māvina mara 2 saha namma sva ruchiyinda dharmapurvakevāgi namma kulasvāmi Sōmanāthārpitavāgi Koṭṭevāgi ā svāsthiyannu Uḍupi Vidyārājasvāmigaḷa sishherāda Vishnumurtisvāmigaḷa sankētava māḍisidava anna dāna dharmmakke ayivattumuḍi

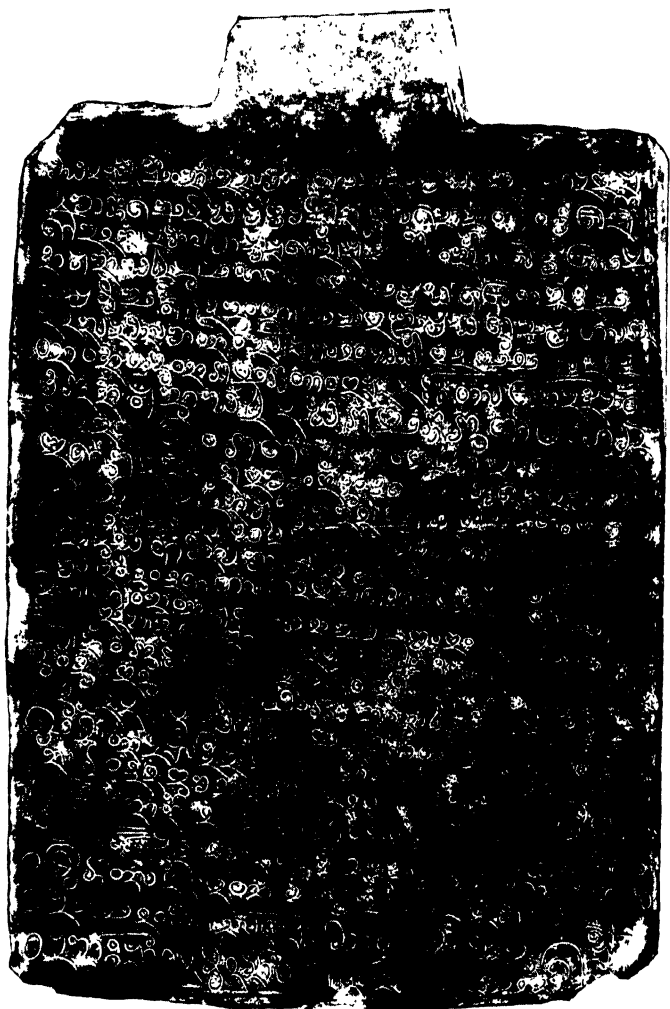
akki svāsthe bhumiyanu Vāmana mudre shile śthāpitana māḍi koṭṭu yī dharmmakke biṭṭevāgi yī sthaḷada chatus sīme voḷogana nidhi nikshēpa jala pāshāṇa akshi āgāmi sidha sādhyāṅgalimba appa bhūga tējasvāmyagalanū anubhavisikoṇḍu nimma santāna pārapare yāgi, āchandrārka sāyigalāgi yī dharmavannu Vishvamurti svāmigala Sankētaḍalli naḍisi koṇḍu bāhe yidakke namma santāna parampare. . . . yāgi aḷusida pakshadalli Kāshiyalli sahasra gō hatya māḍida pātakakke bāhevu namma kula Svāmi Sōmanātha Dēvara pāḍakke Tappidavaru yendu koṭṭa dharma Śāsana yidakke dharmasākshigalu Āditya Chandrav anilānalaścha dyaaur bhumir āpō hridayam Yamas cha ahaś cha ratrischa ubhā cha Sandhye dharmas cha jānāti n (arasaya) vrittam (sva) dattām para dattām vā yī hareta Vasundharām Śashtir varusha sahasrāni viṣṭāyam jāyati krimihi svadattād dvigunam puṇyam para dattānupālanam paradattāpahārēṇa svadattam nishphalam bhavētu dānāt svargam avāpnōti pālanād Achyutam padam Sri Somanatha.

### B. *The Baṅgar Plate of Śaka 1566.*

It is similar to the one given above, and records the grant of two villages Puda and Amrapāḍi, in the Kāṇanchi 'sime with all rights by Vīra Narasiṃha Shankara Dēvī, sister of Lakshmappa arasa Baṅgar, to Venkaṭapati Dēva of the Sāndalya Gōtra, Ashlāyana Sūtra, of the Palace, in the first day in the month of Kārtika in the year Tārana, Śaka 1566 (21st October 1644) <sup>1</sup>. Both these plates are written in modern Kannaḍa.

### Text.

Namastunga Shiraś chumbi chandra chāmara chāra vētraī (lōkya) nagarāmbha mūlasthambhāya Sambhavē Svasti Śri Jayābhuyodaya Śālivāhana Śaka Varusha 1566 ne Tārāṇa samvadsarada Kārtika śudha I Ilu Śrīmatu Lakshmapparasarāda Baṅgara Taṅgi Viranarashimha Sankara Dēvi Bangarū Sāndalya Gōtrada Ashlāyana Sūtrada Rāju Kemanavarte Venkaṭapati Dēvagaliḡe Koṭṭa bhūdānada Tām braśāsanaḍa

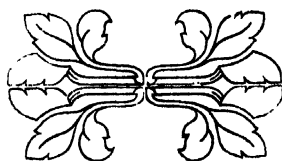


**Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1566.**  
(Obverse.)



**Bangar grant by Sankaradevi, S.S. 1566.**  
(Reverse.)

pratikrama venta endare namma Kāṇanchi sīme voḷagana Pudugrāmadalli Tumbenanda salūda ga 40 da bhūmige chat tusime vivara. Tumbeda Kaṇiveyindam mūḍalu Nētrāvati Holeyindam baḍagalu ummayisipi āṭhuvātha dindam (?) paḍuvalu Vanchimaṭhadindam teṅkalu yī barada nālvattu vara (ha) da huṭṭuvalige nimage Koṭṭabhūmi ānu bhavisi bāhiri Ambavāḍi grāma doḷagaṇa Baḍāyiyindam ga 24 da bhūmige chatus sīme vivara Ulgraje sālininda mūḍalu Pida male padavininda teṅkalu Āṇilepadavininda paḍuvalu Āmbavāḍiyinda baḍagalu yinti chatus sime voḷagaṇa Baḍāji beṭṭu l Ubhayam Tumbeya Baḍājiyinda saha ga 64 yī aruvattunālku varahana dānārthavāgi Koṭṭevāgi yī chatu sime voḷage nāvu dānārthavāgi Koṭṭa aruvattunālkuvarahana bhūmige saluva sarva svāmya akshi agāmi jala pashāṇa nidhi nikshēpa hola mane yinti ashṭha bhōga sarvasvāmyavannu nīvu āgumāḍikoṇḍu naḍasikoṇḍu ānubhavisi bāhiri endu Koṭṭa bhūdāna tambrāsāsana paṭṭe Svadattādvigunam puṇyam paradattānupālunam paradattāpahārēṇa svadattam nishphalam bhavētu dāna pālana yōrmadhye dānāksheyōnrupālanam dānā svargam āpnōti pālanād Achyutam bhavētu Śri Sōmanātha.



# **The Year of Shivaji's Birth, 1627 or 1630?**

. By Prof. K. H. Kamdar, M. A.

For the last four years a very acute controversy has been raging in Mahārashtra over the important question of Shivaji's birth-date. It has now assumed a continental and academic importance of the highest value. The life of Shivaji no longer stands as a local episode in Indian history. It is a great national asset. The sources of its history in Marathi must be adjusted and reconciled to contemporary Persian and European accounts. But the difference of opinion on the birth-date of the great king needs an early settlement from another standpoint. The advocates of the two dates, 1627 and 1630, have adduced evidence, the examination of which goes to the very root of scientific research in Indian history. It raises the most important question of methodology. The plain issue is how far the historian should accept or reject particular types of evidence in historical investigations.

It is necessary to clear up one point at the outset. The writer of these notes does not bid for favour from any one of the parties—the party of 1627 and the party of 1630. He will try to approach the question as an unbiased student and teacher of Indian history.

The traditional year of Shivaji's birth is 1627 A. D. or Śaka 1549. Grant Duff, Ranade, Prof. Limaye, Rajvade, Sardesai and Kincaid, distinguished names in the literature of Maratha history, do not dispute the date. They are reinforced by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, the emirrent, judicious and painstaking writer of the history of Aurungzeb's reign.

Grant Duff accepted the year 1627, but fixed the month in March. The now accepted month is April. There are discrepancies with regard to the day of the birth, ranging from the second to the fifth day of the bright half of Vaishakha. But these small discrepancies are irrelevant to the subject under discussion here. The year, 1630, is supported mainly by some workers in Maratha history in Poona, the chief of

whom are Messrs. D. V. Apte, J. S. Karandikar, and C. V. Vaidya. Mr. Vaidya is the author of many learned and critical monographs on the *Rāmāyana*, the *Mahābhārata* and the mediaval history of India, in Marathi and in English. In March, 1925, they publicly celebrated the birth-date of Shivaji at Shivneri, because according to them, the great king was born on *Vadya tritiya*, *Falgun*, *Śaka* 1551. They have since then broken away from the old masters and one has only to glance at Marathi papers and journals to see how acute and irreconcilable the difference has become between this revolted and heterodox band and the old and orthodox school, led by Mr. Sardesai and his lieutenants, Messrs. Wakaskar and Daji Nagesh Apte of Baroda. Old Professor Bhanu, of Poona, has ranged himself under the old flag. The writer of this note once accidentally attended a conference of the *Pandits* of the two dates at Mr. Sardesai's residence at Baroda, when Mr. N. C. Kelkar occupied the not very enviable chair of judge. The heterodox view is supported chiefly by the triple evidence composed of (1) the *Bṛihad̐shvara Shilālekha* of Tanjore, (2) the *Shivabhārat*, and (3) the *Jedhe Rhakāvali*. I shall take the first and place before the reader the argument derived from it.

The *Bṛihad̐shvara Shilālekha* is an inscription carved out on the wall of a temple at Tanjore, once the capital of the descendents of Shahji, Shivaji's father. It is written by one Baburao, who describes himself as a Deccani Brahman, resident of Tanjore, and as Chitnis of the reigning Rāja Sarfoji. The date of the inscription is 13th December, 1803. It was published by Mr. T. Samb Murti Rao, B. A., B. L., of Tanjore, at the price of twelve annas, in 1907. The *Shiva Charitra Pradīpa*, edited by Messrs. D. V. Apte and S. M. Divekar of the Bhārat Itihāsa Sanshodhaka Mandal, of Poona, in *Śaka* 1847 (1925), quotes that part of it which is relevant to their argument in pp. 250-251, *not from this text* but from a work of the late Mr. Rajvade. But the whole inscription is so interesting and its contents throw such a lucid light upon the character of the evidence from which Chitnis Baburao took his inspiration, that it deserves a systematic examination.



Meanwhile let me animadvert in passing against the Mandal's antiquated and unreasonable style of dating its publications according to the *Śaka* era; and that too after the Tilak Panchanga. Even the Peshwas addressed their communications according to the *Hijri*. The Mandal's rage for innovation even extends to converting the Christian and *Hijri* dates into their *Śaka* equivalents.

I now take up the Tanjore inscription. On pp. 14-15, Mr. Samb Murti Rao's text says:—"After this was born of Jijibai, *the second wife of Shahji Shambhaji Raja*, Shahji's first son, in the *Akshaya* year, *Śaka* 1547 (1625 A. D.). After him were born four sons in succession but they did not live". Then the author describes Shahji Raja's relations with the Nizam-shahi, Bijapuri, and Mughal dominions and notices the marriage of Shambhaji with Jayantibai, daughter of one Vijaya Raj of Shivneri. Then he proceeds:—"In *Śalivahana Śaka* 1551, (the Christian year 1698) (?) in the year *Pramoda*, Jijibai gave birth to a son. Soon after this, Shahji was blessed with another son, who was named *E(Vyan) Koji Raja*". Italics are mine.

The revolted school bases its arguments for the *Śaka* year 1551, or 1630 A. D., on the last part of the above quotation. The inscription relates the birth of four sons to Jijibai between *Śaka* years, 1547 and 1551. Shivaji was born according to our Poona friends in Falgun, 1551, *viz.* March, 1630. Deducting nine and a half months from this, we get June, 1629. Jijibai gave birth to *four sons between 1625 and June 1629!* They never grew up, says Baburao, and they were born in succession, one after another. So they were neither miscarriages nor twins. Now I put a straight-question to the critical reader:—How could poor Jijibai conceive and pass through the state of four deliveries during this short interval? Baburao commits another unpardonable blunder in the passage quoted above. Jijibai, Shivaji's mother, was not the second *but the first* wife of Shahji. Vyankoji's mother was Shahji's second wife. Baburao Chitnis assigns to Jijibai a second and subordinate position in Shahji's home. Here again he was either suppressing a truth intentionally

or stating an error unconsciously. Lastly he gives a false name, Umabai, to Vyankoji's mother. Her true name was Tukabai.

This is sufficient to condemn Baburao's evidence. But I shall attempt to show how unreliable the inscription is on other grounds as well. The Brihidishvara inscription aims at giving a genealogical and political account of the Bhonsles of Tanjore. The whole record was inscribed on the wall of the temple by Babu Rao, evidently on permission from Sarfoji, the Rāja of Tanjore, in 1803. The date is very important. It is competent to me to argue that the lateness of the date is sufficiently damaging the acceptability of the year 1551, or 1630, but I do not say so. My argument in emphasizing the date is different. The date 1803 suggests to us the motives which inspired Baburao and his King Sarfoji to immortalize the Bhonsles of Tanjore on the wall of a temple. Shahji's children had ruled at Tanjore up to the time of Sarfoji as independent kings. Tulaji, the last king of Tanjore, had adopted Sarfoji, a descendant of Vithoji, Shahji's brother, and the Company had once acknowledged him as the rightful ruler of Tanjore. But his succession was disputed by Amarsing, and he was set aside by the Company. After an unseemly dispute and reference to the Pandits of Kashi, Amarsing was also set aside and Sarfoji was once more allowed to return to his Gadi in 1799. But he accepted the tenure of a harmless and pensioned prince from the administration of Wellesley and, as Baburao himself says in the concluding part of his inscription, he spent the remaining part of his life in the perusal of religious literature and in pilgrimages to sacred places. The year 1803 also witnessed the termination of Maratha supremacy at Delhi and the primacy of the Peshwa over the confederacy. Sarfoji therefore desired that the glorious achievements of the Bhonsles should find an immortal record on the wall of the temple, and Babu Rao Chitnis was appointed to carry out the important work. Other monarchs of India inscribed their exploits during the springtime of their careers; Sarfoji caused the work of his predecessors to be recorded when their repres-

entatives at Satara and Tanjore were retired pensioners. Let us see how this was performed.

Babu Rao traced the pedigree of the Bhonsles to the familiar depths of Indian legend, to Ikshwaku, Surya and even Narayan, and brought it up-to-date. His account of his master's immediate precursors is true enough. He gives a correct account of their relations with the local Pagedars, the Nawab of the Karnatik, the French, and the English. Here we are on *terra firma*. But he talks sober history only so far. As his account recedes to the background of Maratha history, it degenerates into unworthy fable and becomes absolutely unfit for any historical credence. I give the details below.

Babu Rao has nothing to show that Maloji, Shahji's father, was of Rajput and Chitor descent. His names of the twelve ancestors of Maloji's father are alike fabulous. Mr. C. V. Vaidya argues in *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 89, "that they were multiplications" of the name of Ekoji, the founder of the dynasty of Tanjore. The Chitnis' knowledge of Deccan politics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is next to nothing. He does not mention Shah Jahan even once! Aurangzeb is made the successor of Jahangir! Akbar is once confused with Jahangir and the reader is left to himself to judge about their relationship. Maloji is once described as having fought against the king of Kolhapur with Shahji when the latter was five years old. In 1621 he makes Shahji enjoying "Swarajya" at Satara, whereas Satara became Maratha possession during Shivaji's times! Babu Rao mentions Poona and Satara as adjacent territories, as an old and illiterate matron at far-off Junagad in Kathiawar might do to-day! The captivity and release of Shahji is given without the slightest fidelity to facts. Shivaji's childhood finds no record. Except Suryaji the best companions of his minority and youth are passed over. Shivaji never went to Satara or to Purandhar when he was a child. Babu Rao makes him the conqueror of Krishna and Janaka, whom it is impossible to identify. The hopelessly ignorant Chitnis attributes to the Chhatrapati the conquest of the whole western sea-board and the foundation of a city, which he named Shivalanka!

Shahji's death is ante-dated by six years; in our author's record Shahji died in 1656, whereas he really died in 1664. The only correct date in this wilderness is that of Afzul Khan's murder. Even a school boy knows now that Sambhaji, Shivaji's son and successor, was executed by Aurungzeb in 1689. Babu Rao assigns Śaka 1618, viz. 1696 A. D. to this event. He says that when Shahu was captured at Raigadh, he was three years old. The fact is that he was six years older. Shahu was crowned at Satara not in Śaka 1626, viz. 1704. A. D. but in 1713. In Śaka 1626, he was Aurungzeb's prisoner. Shivaji never sent Rajaram to Tanjore, nor did he call him to Panhala. All are agreed that Shivaji died in Śaka 1602, viz. 1680. But Babu Rao is anything but faithful to facts. "In 1603, viz. in 1681", our recorder says: "Shivaji started on a pilgrimage, paid a visit to Tanjore *incognito*, and announcing himself to his brother Vyankoji, he advised him of the urgency to improve the fort, kept a part of the tuft of his hair in a shop, accepted *Shirni* or *prasada* as a Mussalman, and then after receiving back the precious deposit from the merchant, returned home"! Thus Babu Rao resurrects Shivaji into a youthful pilgrim to the Setu-Ramēśvaram. Everybody will disdain to acknowledge such an authority. A Gujarati proverb says: "Where the sun does not reach, there the poet goes!"



# A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents

By Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

The University of Bombay had generously offered me, as the Director of the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, a grant of Rs. 1500/- only "for the carrying on of research work by students under your (my) guidance", in the month of October, 1928. One of these students, Mr. G. M. Moraes, B. A., was preparing a thesis on Kadamba history for obtaining the M. A. degree. The novelty of the subject, not dealt with by any historian, and the few inscriptions of the Kadamba monarchs hitherto published, encouraged us to tour the ancient Kadamba regions with sure hope of success. Our purpose was to collect Kadamba documents, by the study of the ancient temples and sculptures, by taking rubbings of unpublished inscriptions of the Kadamba monarchs and by collecting their coins. This was our main purpose; yet we did not intend to miss other documents which might come in our way.

This settled, we selected the Christmas Holidays of 1928 to tour the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency. We left Bombay on December 21st 1928, and did not come back till the 8th of January, 1929.

## *December 22nd*

### **Khanapur**

This town, the head of one of the southernmost Talukas of the Belgaun District, was the first to be visited. No remains of Kadamba monuments were there to be found. Yet Khanapur was to be our headquarters for the two following days. On the evening of our arrival, accompanied by Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Rajaran College, who had joined us that morning at Miraj, we surveyed the town and its neighbourhood.

*Ancient Monuments.* On the banks of the river Mala-

prabha the ruins of the ancient fort of Khanapur are still to be seen. Towards the east there are three temples in ruins that may be either Kadamba or Chalukya. Some pillars and pieces of sculpture are scattered in their neighbourhood, among them the *Saptamātrakas*. These archaeological remains are mentioned neither by the *Belgaun Gazetteer*, nor by the *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, by Burgess and Cousens<sup>1</sup>.

*Inscriptions.*—In the bazaar, next to a small modern niche containing a linga, opposite the shop of a cloth merchant there is a rough inscription in modern Dēvanāgarī; on the other side of the niche there stands a broken viragal with the inscription totally worn out.

Prof. Kundangar, to whom we are much indebted for his valuable help during these days, lent us a set of three copper-plates in Sanskrit, Brahmi characters, issued by the Kadamba King Ravivarma (IVth century). The plates belong to one of his friends of the Kolhapur State. One of them is somewhat decayed. The rest are in good condition. They are joined together by an oval ring bearing the Kadamba lion in its seal. The lion stands to the left, and has its right paw raised.

*Coins.*—An old Indian Catholic of Khanapur presented me with three coins out of his own collection. These are:—

1 copper coin of the Indo-Greek king Hippostratos Soter Megas, not found in the Indian Museum Catalogue.

1 big copper coin of Kadphises.

1 paisa of Tipu Sultan, minted at Nagar, 1227 Hijra Era.

*MSS.*—Prof. Kundangar mentioned to us four Jaina Sanskrit MSS. entitled *Jayadhavala Vijayadhavala, Atidhavalā* and *Mahādhavala*, written by the two Jaina gurus,

The volumes of the *Bombay Gazetteer* in their respective Districts and the above work by Burgess and Cousens were to be our guides for the following 18 days. Nevertheless their information was on many occasions supplemented by our observations. In future we shall refer to these works by quoting the initials of the same *B. G.* (*Belgaum Gazetteer*), *D. G.*, (*Dhnavar Gazetteer*), *N. K. G.* (*North Kanara Gazetteer*) *R. L. A. R.* (*Revised List of Antiquarian Remains*).

Vīrasena and Jainasena, at Banavasi, during the rule of the early Kadamba dynasty. These MSS. had been for years in the possession of the Jainas of Kolhapur, but lately migrated to South Kanara, and are now kept at Karkala. I have already taken steps to obtain copies of these MSS.

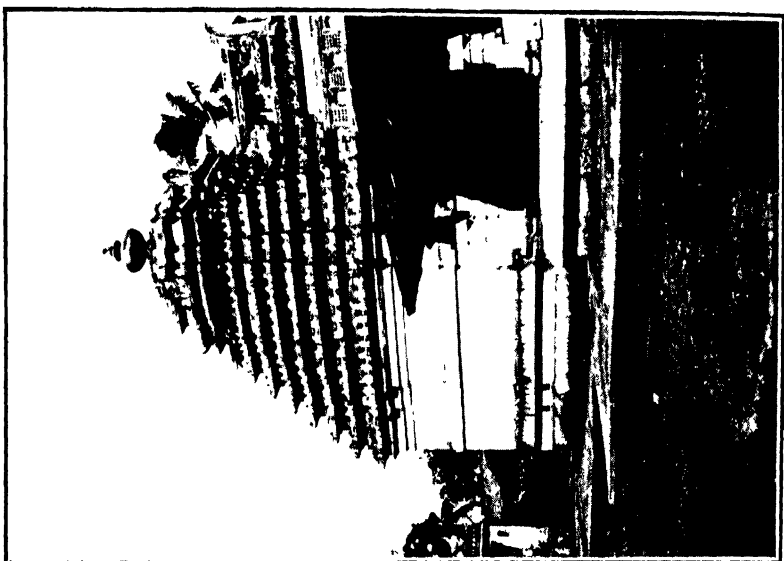
*December 23rd*

### Halsi

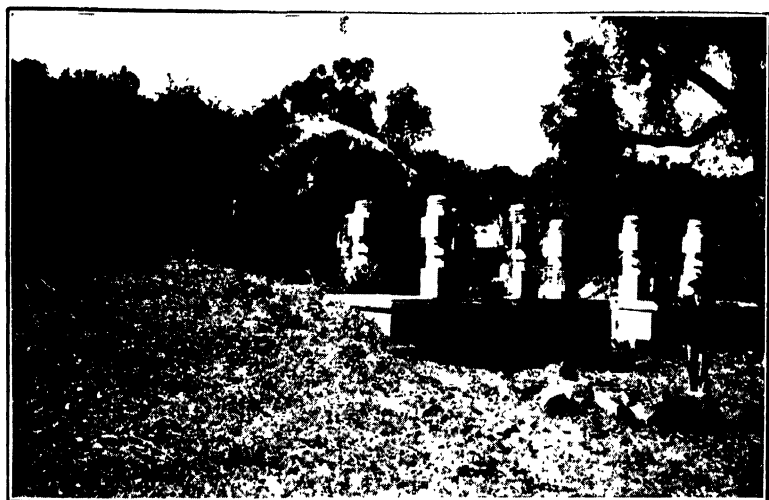
This is the ancient city of Palāśigue or Palāśika, the early capital of the Goa Kadambas. The magnificent ruins of this village reveal the ancient grandeur of the town.

*Ancient Monuments.*—The *B. G.* as well as the *R. L. A. R.* mention three temples only. Varāha-Narasimha, Suvarnēśvara and Ramēśvara. Yet the temples visited during our stay there for a full day were seven.

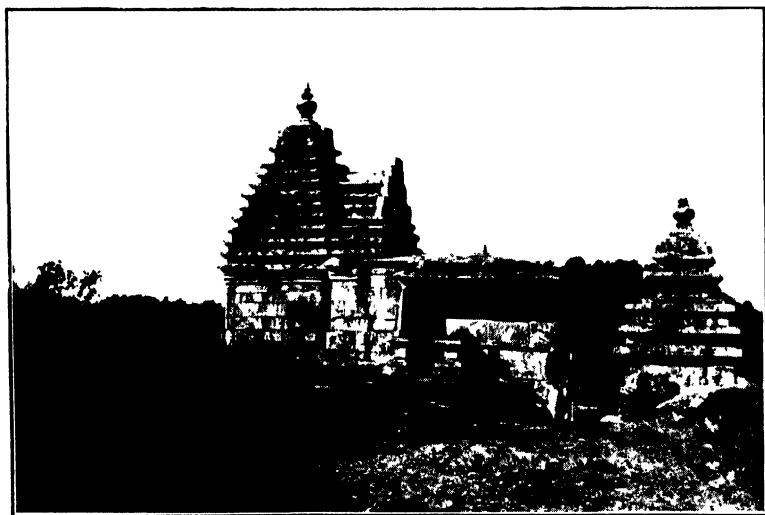
1. Varāha-Narasimha temple. It is in a good state of preservation, but it would be well if the ugly mud shed to cover the procession char could be removed from the building. The two portions of the temple built in different periods are easily differentiated (*Cf. Inscripton*, below). The gopuram, square and pyramidal, with plain stages only showing a tooth-like ornamentation, surmounted by a kalāśa, is a model of the so-called Dravidian style by Fergusson and others, which nevertheless is the real Kadamba style. Round the premises of the temple there are several niches and shrines containing images, some of them of great artistic value. It seems common in the Vaishnavite statues to have all the incarnations of Vishnu carved in miniature on an arch running round the head of Vishnu. Such is for instance the image of Vishnu Narayana seated having Lakshmi seated on his left knee, that occupies a big shrine in the south-east corner of the compound. Again the images of Varāha and Narasimha worshiped inside the temple have round their respective heads the miniatures of the other avatars. This seems to be a characteristic feature of Vaishnavite statuary of the later Kadamba period. In front of the narrow side gate leading to the temple there is a street, well paved with big







**Halsi. Kallamesvara Temple.**



**Halsi. Ramesvara Temple.**

slabs, inhabited by Brahmans. It seems to be one of the old agrahāras of the ancient city.

2. Jaina basti. The ruins of this building are a few yards to the south-west of the preceding temple. The only portions of the building still existing are a small vestibule and the empty shrine. The structure is plain, without carvings or ornamentations of any kind. The high level of the ground round it evidently shows the existence of ruins underground; systematic excavations should be taken up near the ruined temples of Halsi. Just when leaving the temple I saw a somewhat round stone standing 15 feet from the entrance. It was partly buried. I picked it up, and I found what I expected: the head of a Jaina tirthankara. This afforded a sufficient reason to conclude that the plain abandoned temple was the Jaina basti founded at Halsi by king Mṛgēśavarma of the early Kadamba Dynasty <sup>1</sup>.

3. Suvarnēśvara or Suranēśvara temple. The general shape of this temple is easily seen. The mantapa however, has lost its ceiling. Its pillars, higher than usual, still stand in there dignity. There are no figures carved on the walls of the temple, but several sculptures — one of them a beautifully executed group of the *saptamātrakas* — have been placed in the niches of the mantapa near the door leading to the shrine. These niches, at least two next to the door, and in several cases four — the other two being on the wall at right-angles to the first — seem to be a peculiar feature of the Kadamba temples. The shrine contains a linga, which apparently has been placed there in relatively modern times. The spacious grounds in front seem to be the ancient compound of the temple.

4. Hatakēśvara temple. It stands to the West of the village. The only thing remaining of it is the shrine itself that contains a linga. On both sides of the door of the shrine there are perforated windows. This seems to be an ordinary feature in almost all Kadamba temples; later on these screens were enlarged and separated from the door, and finally transferred round the mantapa, as in the Hoysala

temples at Halebid and Belur. In front of the door of the shrine there is a Nandi in the middle of what was the mantapa—now totally disappeared. The temple seems to have been erected on a stone platform, but this is now completely buried.

5. Kāllamēśvara temple. This seems to have been one of the most important temples of this place, if we consider its extensive compound, enclosed within walls, now covered with earth. In the centre of the compound there was a tank; and on the east side of the same there is an old dry well. The temple itself, half buried and covered with bushes and forest, has a mantapa, without ceiling, and the shrine. The flight of steps to ascend the mantapa, with elephants on both sides, seems to be the most majestic from among all the Halsi temples. Excavations are badly needed round this temple.

6. Rameśvara temple. This group of temples, of purely Kadamba style, are on the top of a neighbouring hill, two miles and a half to the west of Halsi. The temples are three, or more correctly one temple and two shrines. One of the latter is totally in ruins. The other one is in good condition and is dedicated to Vishnu. The temple itself, with a linga in its shrine, is built near a tirtha or small lake, which is supposed to be sacred. The square mantapa with side entrances—a thing not uncommon in Kadamba temples — is partly built over the tirtha itself: square granite pillars rise from the bottom of the lake and support similar square beams stretching horizontally from the rock floor on which the temple is built. These beams sustain the entire weight of the mantapa. The whole temple is well preserved.

7. Kapileśvara temple. This is just outside the village to the south. The building is totally in ruins. It seems to have been a Lingayat temple, built in later times. No sign of Kadamba influence is to be traced.

*Inscriptions.* In about 1860 seven sets of copperplates were unearthed at Halsi. Six in the Sanskrit language and Brahmi script belonged to the Kadambas of Banavasi; the seventh one in the Sanskrit language and Nandināgari script, records a grant of Jayaqueśi III of Goa. All have been pu-

blished <sup>1</sup>. This copperplate document of Jayaqueśi is still at Halsi in the possession of one of the priests of the temple. It has a beautiful ring with the Kadamba lion in high relief. It records the building of the shrine of Varāha in front of the temple of Narasimha.

Inside the temple of Vahrāa-Narasimha there is a huge slab with a double inscription of the two brothers Śivachitta and Vishnuchitta, of the Goa Kadamba Dynasty <sup>2</sup>.

In one of the corners of the compound in front of the Suvarnēśvara temple there is a Jaina viragal with the inscription altogether worn out. It was almost totally buried and we had to remove much earth in order to see the figures of the lower carving.

In front of the Kāllamēśvara temple there are three big viragals buried; only the top portion is seen.

In the centre of the village there is a huge satikal. It stands near the old gate of the fort (perhaps the citadel round the royal palace).

*Coins.* We came across a small silver coin of the Kshatrapa type. It is a coin of Kumāra Gupta I, of the Imperial Guptas. It seems nevertheless to be a new type. Those known hitherto bear a Garūḍa with spread wings on the reverse. This has a recumbent bull to the right, similar to those of the bull-type of Skanda Gupta. This coin was kindly presented to me by the goldsmith in whose possession it was.

### Golihalli

The same evening and before going to the Bidi Bungralow, (graciously put at our disposal for that night by the P. W. D.), we paid a short visit to the small village of Golihalli.

*Ancient Monuments.* Three temples outside the village. One of Rāmaṅgadēva on the eastern side of the road, plain

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 330, 241-246.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 280-289.

and totally ruined. The other two of Basava and Kāllamēśvara, on the other side of the road, are newly built, out of the stones and sculptures of one or two ancient temples, evidently of the Kadamba period.

*Inscriptions.* There are two Kadamba inscriptions next to the two rebuilt temples. The one in front of Basava temple is of the Goa Kadamba Śivachitta<sup>1</sup>. That next to the temple of Kāllamēśvara is in a damaged condition. Mr. Fleet could not read it in 1870; nevertheless he says that it contains a grant by a Goa Kadamba under the Chalukya king Somēśvara III, entitled Bhūlokamaladēva<sup>2</sup>. The temple represented in the carving of the upper portion of these inscriptions is of purely Kadamba style. Next to the Kallamēśvara temple there is a beautiful satikal, not mentioned in the *B. G.* nor in the *R. L. A. R.* It represents both husband and wife. Evidently he is a Kshatriya; and his dress and arms are worth studying, as the carving is in very good state.

### December 24th

#### Bidi

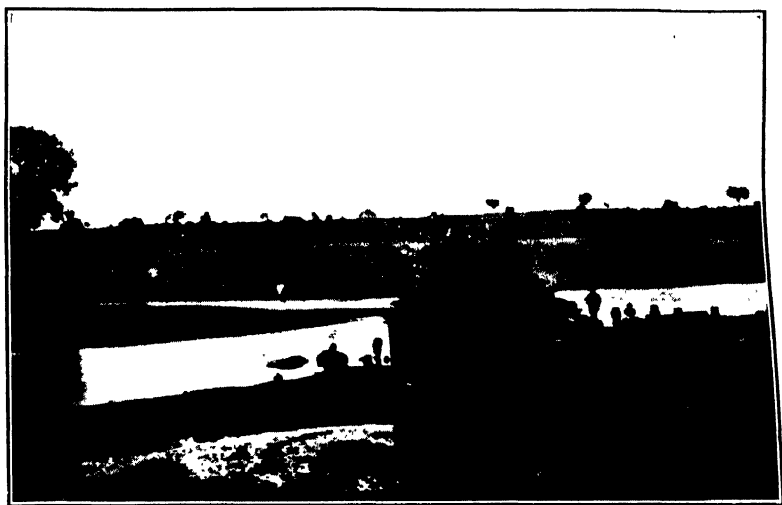
*Ancient Monuments.* Neither the *B. G.* nor the *R. L. A. R.* speak of any antiquarian remains in this village. Nevertheless round the big tank and near a modern temple called Bidi Bavakēśvara there are many relics of Hindu temples and Jaina bastis, such as pillars, images and other sculptures. Some of these pillars seem to have belonged to a Kadamba temple; others seem to be still buried in the neighbouring fields, if the statement of the spirited Patel of the village is true.

*Inscriptions.* Next to the above temple two viragals bear Hale-Kannāḍa inscriptions. One of them is partly only legible. Lines 1-3 are totally worn out. Lines 4-6 read as follows:

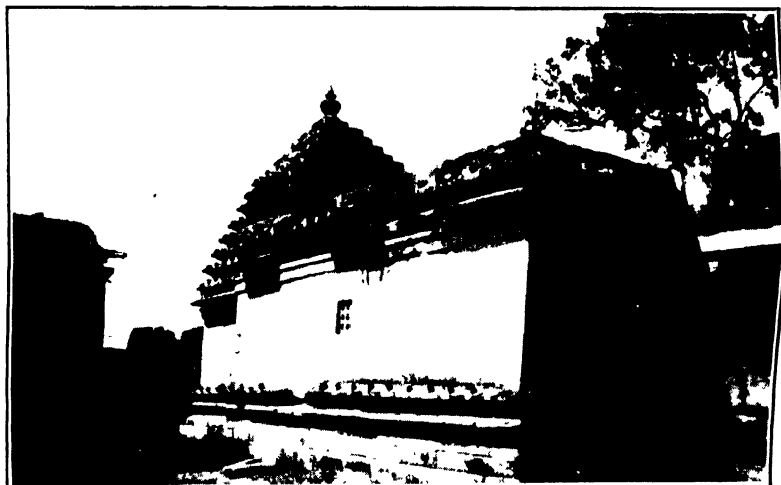
4. Śrī Brāhamaya-dēva Kāḷikā-dēvi = labdha = vara =  
prasādanum / gotra . . . chū (ḍā).

<sup>1</sup> Published in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, pp. 296-303.

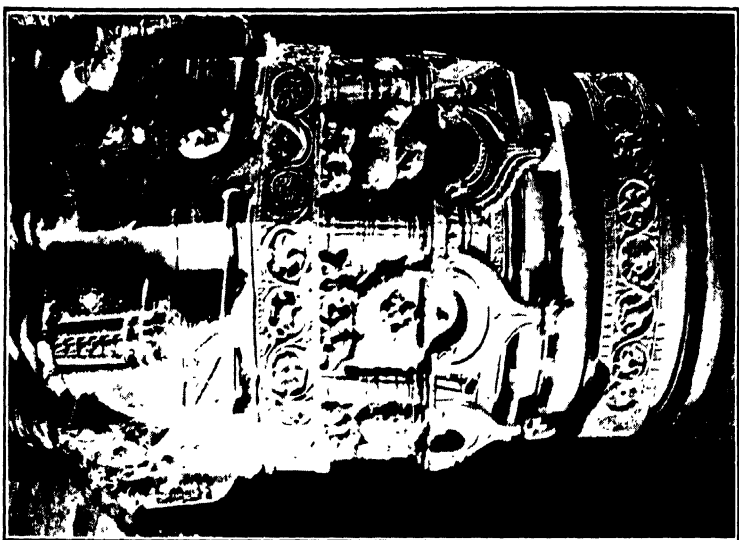
<sup>2</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 263.



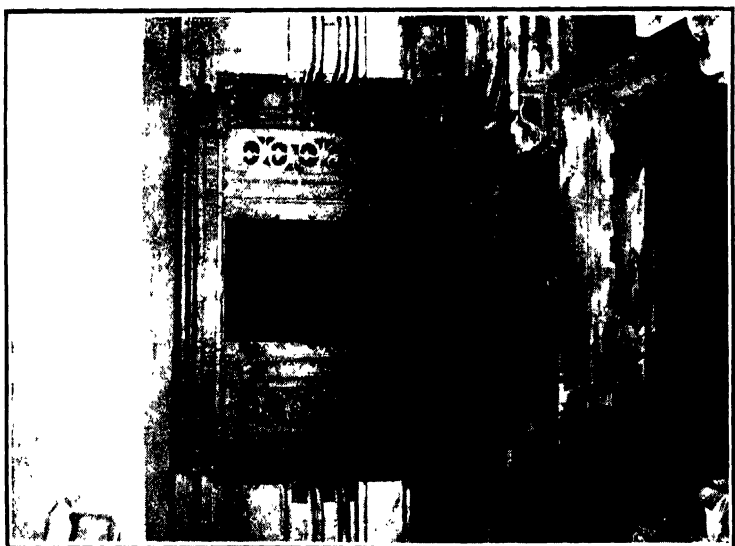
**Kadroli. Temple of Sankaradeva.**



**Kodikopa. Mallesvara Temple.**



Gadag. Pillar in the Mantapa of the



5. Maṇiyum-apa Hanmana Sūreya Nājakam-arpa Kāḷe-gavaṃ Kādi.
6. Suraloka=prāptan-āda mādidaṃ / Kūvāri Māi popi.  
This is rendered in English by Prof. K. S. Kundangar
- 4-6. Hammana Sūreya Nāyaka, who had obtained favours in the form of boons from Brāhmadēva and Kālikā-dēvi, and who was the very desire yielding gem to (the relations of his) gotra, fought a terrific fight and went to the world of gods . . .

There are two other viragals at the south entrance of the village; but they are much damaged and the inscriptions are illegible. Another much defaced viragal stands in a field 2 miles north-east of the village. The best of all seem to be two other viragals that stand inside the big tank on both sides of the flight of steps leading to the water. We could only saw the uppermost portion which shows a linga within a temple built in Kadamba style. We were informed that the inscriptions of these viragals are legible and that during one or two months preceding the rainy season good rubbings can be taken. In any case, it would be advisable to remove those two viragals from the water.

### Bailur

3½ miles east of Bidi.

*Inscriptions.* In the village chaudi close to a Basava temple there is a stone tablet of the Goa Kadamba king Śivachitta. The inscription, written in Hale-Kannaḍa, is a very lengthy one, but the central portion is totally worn out. This was the reason why it was not deciphered by Mr. Fleet<sup>1</sup>.

### Degamve or Degaon

1½ mile from Bailur; ½ mile from the road.

*Ancient Monuments.* The ancient temple of the village, called of Śri Kamala-Narayana and Śri Mahālakṣmi, is a gem of Kadamba architecture, though influenced by the style of the Hoysaḷas of Mysore. It was built by Kamaladēvī, the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, IX, p. 263.



queen of the Goa Kadamba king Śivachitta. The temple has three shrines: the perforated screens on the sides of the doors of the shrines have been converted into a frame of beautiful perforated stone work, round the real frame of the door; the niches at the angles of the temple near the doors of the shrines are nicely ornamented and crowned by lofty gopurams in miniature; pillars of strictly Kadamba style are richly ornamented: the outer wall of the parapet is also artistically decorated with carvings representing dancing girls and musicians alternately separated by gopurams supported by pillars; between pillar and pillar in the lower portion of the parapet there is the Kadamba lion in an erected position<sup>1</sup>. The most remarkable thing in this temple is that several of its beautiful pillars are outside the parapet, a feature not usually seen. The pendant lotuses of the ceiling and the *manadakai* or bracket figures—of which only one and the portion of another remain—are clear signs of the Hoysala influence. Tipoja, the architect of this temple was evidently acquainted with the temples built by Vishnuvardhana half a century before. Unfortunately the gopurams of this temple at Degamve have totally disappeared.

*Inscriptions.*—There are four inscriptions inside the temple recording the making of an *agrahāra* in the village of Degamve and the building of the temple by the queen of Śivachitta, mentioned above<sup>2</sup>. Just outside the village on the north side, there is a roughly inscribed stone partly buried.

### Kittur

3 miles north-east of Degamve.

*Ancient Monuments.*—A small newly built temple of Basava with a *linga* and *Nandi*, outside the village. This temple is built out of fragments of an old one, probably of the time of the Kadambas of Goa. A peculiar feature is that

<sup>1</sup> The ornamentation of this parapet resembles much the one of a similar parapet of the Kesava temple at Somanathapur, built by the Hoysala king Narasimha III, c. 1268. Cf. Narasimachar, *The Kesava Temple at Somanathapur*, pl. VII.

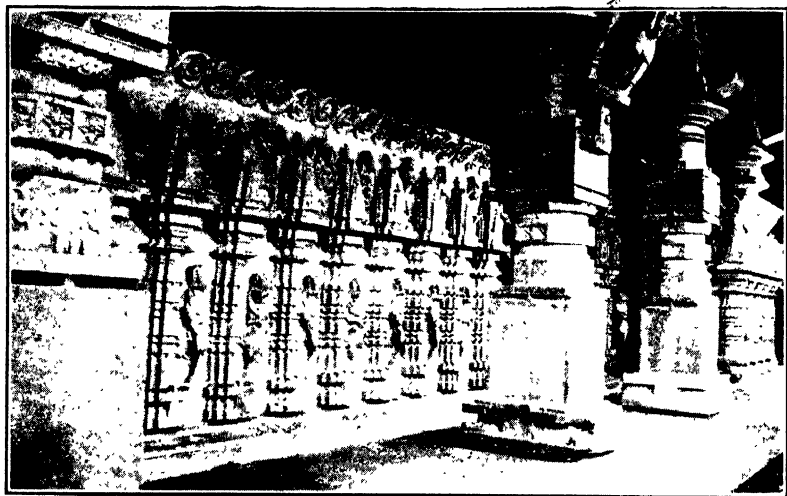
<sup>2</sup> Published in *J.B.B.R.B.S.*, IX, pp. 266-277 and 287-295.



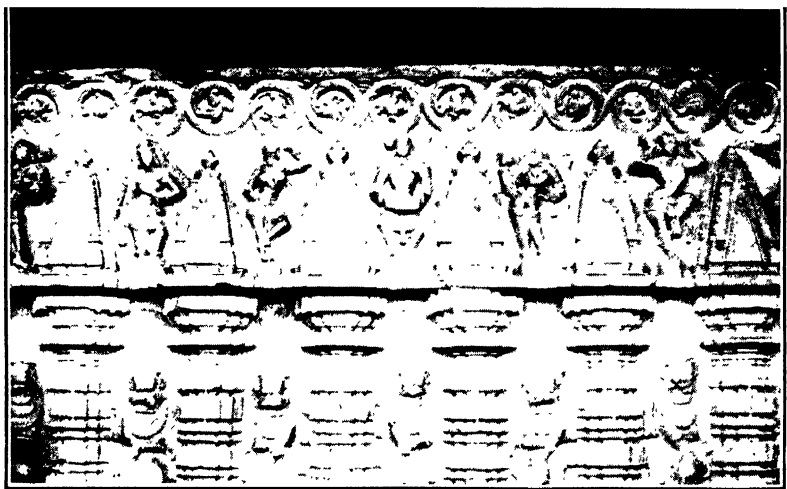
Degamve. Temple of Sri Kamala-Narayana.



Degamve. Mantapa of the same Temple.



**Degamve. Parapet and pillars round the Mantapa of the  
Sri Kamala-Narayana Temple.**



**Degamve. Detail of the above Parapet.**

there is an old well inside the temple itself to the left of the huge Nandi. In front of this temple, under a pipal tree, several naga-stones and a big satikal. The old fort of Kittūr is passed when going from this temple to the village.

*Inscriptions.*—There is a most interesting lithic record on the platform of the Basava temple. It mentions a trial by ordeal performed at Kittūr in 1188 during the reign of the Goa Kadamba King Śivachitta<sup>1</sup>.

### Kadrolī

7 miles north-west of Kittūr, on the Malaprabha, 3 miles from the road.

*Ancient Monuments.* The plain Xth century temple of Śankaradēva in the bed of the river is one of the most interesting monuments seen during the tour. It is built of black granite. Several portions of it have been washed away by the river, and in a few years the whole temple will probably disappear, unless prompt measures are taken to save this beautiful monument. The three shrines are filled with mud. The images that may be seen beyond these mounds of mud are most elaborately carved. The main shrine has two small shrines, one on each side, all square in shape and crowned with a gopuram of severe Kadamba style. The almost totally destroyed mantapa in front of the main shrine is fancifully shaped and contains a big loose Nandi badly mutilated. Outside the mantapa there is another much smaller Nandi<sup>2</sup>. In the centre of the village there is another broken Nandi. There are other remains of other temples, as lotus ceilings and carved pillars in different parts of the village. We also saw a sati-stone.

*Inscriptions.* Before entering the village, while coming from the road, to the left, there is a viragal that represents a man fighting with a tiger, after alighting from a horse, which is seen in the background. The style of the temple carved on the top of this viragal shows that it belongs to the Ka-

<sup>1</sup> Published in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, IX, pp. 307-309.

<sup>2</sup> For plan of this temple see Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgaum and Kaladgi Districts*, p. XIII.

damba period: its inscription unfortunately is illegible. There is another viragal inside a neighbouring Maruti temple: but this does not seem to belong to the Kadamba times. We saw besides two fragment of other viragals.

But the most important epigraphical records of Kādroli are two inscriptions, carefully protected by the Archaeological Department, which now stand in the centre of the village. The larger one, dated 997 S. S. (1075 A. D.), was in front of the temple of Śankaradēva described above, whence it was removed to the village by order of Mr. Fleet who published a translation of the inscription<sup>1</sup>. It records a grant to the said temple by Kēśavādityadēva, commander of the forces of the Chalukya king Bhūvanaikamaladēva, the elder brother of Vikramāditya VI. The inscription shows that the temple existed before this date.

The *B. G.* speaks of the other inscription as follows: "A large fragment of an inscribed stone lies uncared for in the village"<sup>2</sup>. The *R. L. A. R.* adds moreover that this fragment is 'undecipherable'. However a rubbing of this inscription was taken and Prof. Kundangar has successfully deciphered it. It is an inscription of Gohaladēva II, a Goa Kadamba, dated in the 23rd year of the Chalukya era of Vikrama corresponding to the year 1099.

*December 25th*

### **Hubli**

Our stay at Hubli for a few hours gave us a chance to do some research which was not primarily intended.

*Inscriptions.* In the catcheri or mamlatdar's office there are three inscriptions, intended to be taken to the Museum of the Karnatak College. Rubbings were taken of all three. One is a very rough inscription of no importance; the other is on a viragal, and the third is a Chalukya inscription, broken in the middle; but both parts are kept together.

Cf. *I. A.*, I, p. 141, and Burgess, *Report of the first Season's Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts*, pp. 9-10. *B. G.*, p. 574.

**Coins.** The following coins were easily secured from some of the gold merchants and jewellers:—

1 Pratap. *Obv.* Śiva and Pārvati seated *Rev.* श्री प्रताप हरिहर, Sri Pratāpa Harihara.

3 Prataps. *Obv.* Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa walking to the left, holding elephants in each beak and each claw. *Rev.* श्री प्रताप-अच्युत राय, Sri Pratāpa Achyuta Rāya (One specimen slightly different from the other two).

1 Pratap. *Obv.* Two headed insessorial Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa with elephants as above. *Rev.* Same as the last.

1 Pratap. *Obv.* Vishnu seated, with *chakra* to the right of his head and *shanka* to the left, *Rev.* श्री प्रताप कृष्ण राय, Sri Pratāpa Kṛṣṇa Rāya.

1 Pratap. *Obv.* Śiva and Pārvati seated. *Rev.* Haidar Ali's initial on a granulated field.

1 Fanam. *Obv.* An elephant walking to the left. *Rev.* श्री बागह (?) (This coin is not found in any catalogue. It may perhaps be attributed to one of the early Rājas of Mysore).

### December 26th

#### Naregal

This village 12 miles north-east of Gadag was stricken by plague at the time of our visit. Hence it was almost totally deserted.

**Ancient Monuments.** The *D. G.* mentions four temples, but five were surveyed during our visit:—

1. Kāllamēśvara temple, plain and with no evident interest.

2. Tripurantakēśvara temple, small, and well carved, in Hoysala style.

3. Hanumanta temple, modern.

4. Somēśvara temple, said to have been built by Jakanācharya, and well described in the *D. G.* It is much ornamented, and shows some influence of the Kadamba style of architecture (for instance, perforated screens next to the shrine door, pendant nails from the door frame—though much decorated—etc.) The side wings with platforms having sockets for images are very interesting. Almost all the images have un-

fortunately disappear. In the main shrine there is a linga, and a small Nandi in front of the same. Next to the temple, in the street a small but delicate sculpture of a horseman. His dress and the trappings of the horse may form the subject for an interesting study.

5. Another temple of Hannumanta, also modern. In front of it two fragments of carved pillars.

In front of Somēśvara temple two broken Digambara images both seated. There is another one, much larger in front of the village chaudi. It was lying on its face when we passed by. I placed it in an erected position to inspect it, but as soon as I turned away, our guide threw it again to the ground, as if he were wishing to punish that *murti*.

*Inscriptions.* The *R. L. A. R.* speaks of seven inscriptions, but we saw several others:—

In the Kallamēśvara temple there is an inscription of Permadi I of the Sindavamśa on the wall of the temple<sup>1</sup>. There is another inscription, much obliterated, in the compound and five more in front of the wall of the temple: one of these is evidently of the Chalukya period.

Next to the Tripurantakēśvara temple, in a narrow lane, there is a beautifully carved viragal of great size. The hero seems to have died while defending his cattle from robbers, as many cows are seen in one of the carvings of the viragal. Inside the temple there is a long inscription of the same Sinda chief Permadi I<sup>2</sup>, that mentions his defeating Jayaqueśi (III), the Goa Kadamba, and Bittiga or Vishnuvardhana of Mysore.

In front of the Hanumanta temple spoken of in No. 3 there is a much defaced viragal.

### Kodikopa

This is a hamlet half a mile distant from Naregal.

*Ancient Monuments.* There are two temples. The Hanumanta temple is modern and without interest. In front of it there is a broken viragal that has no inscription, and not

<sup>1</sup> Published in *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, pp. 224-238.

<sup>2</sup> Published in *Ibid.*, pp. 239-246.

even a place for one. The hero seems to have died defending cows.

The other temple of Molle Brāhmadēva, according to the *D. G.*, is known locally as Mellēśvara temple. It is a good specimen of Kadamba architecture. Note for instance the gopuram and the pendant nails on the lintel of the door. The small square mantapa in front of the same is only a porch.

*Inscriptions.* Behind the Mellēśvara temple there is an inscription totally obliterated. In front of the same temple, on each side of the door, there are two small inscriptions of two Sinda chiefs, Achugi II and Permadi I<sup>4</sup>.

### Ambegeri

A small village in the way from Naregal to Gadag.

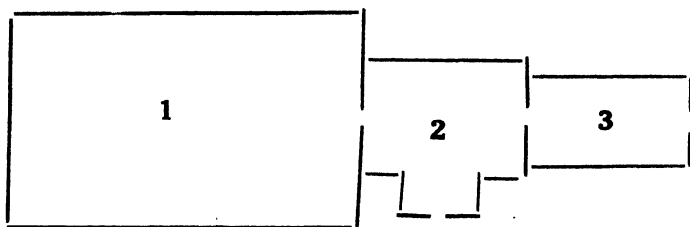
*Ancient Monuments.* There is a small fine temple in Kadamba style not far from the road.

### Gadag

We devoted a few hours in the evening to a rapid survey of the antiquarian remains of Gadag, our headquarters for two days.

*Ancient Monuments.* Four were the temples visited at Gadag:—

1. Trikutēśvara temple. This seems to be the main temple of Gadag and is well described by the *D. G.* The beautiful carvings have been partly destroyed and partly hidden under several coats of ugly whitewash. The *R. L. A. R.* and Fergusson have not noticed that there are in this temple three different structures built at different times. The adjoining rough plan will show these successive constructions:



<sup>4</sup> Published in *Ibid.*, pp. 146-258.



No. 1 is the primitive temple of Kadamba simplicity, though the original gopuram has been replaced by an ugly brick construction. Fergusson speaks of an inscription of the Xth century recording the reconstruction of this temple<sup>1</sup>. Hence it may be that this was one of the first temples built by the Kadambas of Goa or perhaps by those of Hangal.

No. 2 is a building of transition, somewhat more ornamented than the first, with a side entrance.

No. 3 is a highly decorated mantapa closed by perforated screens after the style of the mantapas of Belur and Halebid. It was evidently built during the Hoysala period.

2. Sarasvati temple. This is within the same compound of the Trikutēśvara temple, to the south of the Hoysala mantapa, just mentioned. It also was built during the Hoysala period. Its carvings are a wonder of execution and detail: the huge pillars of the vestibule are perhaps the finest in the southern districts of the presidency of Bombay.

3. Śri Viranarayana temple. This has an extensive compound. Both shrines, the one of Śri Viranarayana, and the one of Narasimha are built in Kadamba style. The latter, separated from the former, but not far from it, seems to be the original temple, as it evidently looks older than the other. The primitive stone *kalaśa* of the gopuram of Śri Viranarayana temple has been replaced by a brass ball, as bright as it is antiesthetic. The gopuram over the entrance door, after the Vijayanagara style, has been recently rebuilt adding some Muslim features with extraordinary bad taste.

4. Somēśvara temple, popularly called Kari Deva's Devasthan, or temple of the black God. It is built in purely Hoysala style, and is much reduced from its original size. It has been carefully repaired by the Archaeological Department.

*Inscriptions.* There are many inscriptions round and in the neighbourhood of these temples<sup>2</sup>. But it was so

<sup>1</sup> Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *R. L. A. R.*, pp. 127-128.

late that we had no time to inspect them. Many of them are still unpublished.

*Coins.* The following coins were obtained:—

1. Varāha. Ganga from Mysore. These varāhas are called by the goldsmiths Gajapathi or Amegundi varāhas, on account of the elephant shown in the obverse.

1 Varāha. *Obs.* Śiva and Pārvati, the latter seated on the knee of the former. *Rev.* श्री कृष्ण राज. This coin has a small ring attached to it.

1 Pratap, with the two-headed insectorial Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa as described above (See coins found at Hubli).

1 Pratap. *Obv.* Śiva seated and haloed, with two pairs of arms. On his knee Pārvati seated. Below a lotus flower. *Rev.* श्री प्रताप द्रमि(ल) (?). Is this the first king of the Āraviḍu Dynasty, the younger brother of the celebrated Rāma Rāya ?

1 Varāha. *Obv.* Vishnu seated and crowned, with a canopy of dots. *Rev.* श्री प्रताप कृ(ष्ण) राज. This is one of the varāhas struck by the Nayaks of Chitaldroog after the Vijayanagara type.

1 Half mohur of Alamgir II, minted at Aminabad.

*December 27th*

### Lakkundi

A village, about 7 miles south - east of Gadag, that could well be called a village of temples, for it contains more than fifty. This circumstance clearly reveals the ancient importance of the town. Indeed, Lökkigundi — the ancient name of Lakkundi—was for a time the residence of Ballāla II, who here won a battle over Jaitugi, the son of Bhillam of the Yādavas of Devgiri. It was impossible to make a general survey of the place in the few hours at our disposal. We visited nevertheless the most important relics of the grandeur of old days.

*Ancient Monuments.* Six are the main temples of Lakkundi. Of these four were specially visited and studied:—

1. Narayan temple. Only the gopuram, built in Hoysala

style, is to be seen. The rest of the temple is totally concealed by the mud walls of a modern house.

2. Kashi Vishvanātha temple. This is a double temple, one facing the other and united by a covered corridor, which may also be called a mantapa. Part of the ceiling of this corridor has disappeared. The temples, carefully restored by the Archaeological Department, are profusely ornamented: no inch is left without a geometrical pattern, or a floral design, or an animal or a human figure. In particular the door frames are marked specimens of the most delicate craftsmanship. These temples also were built during the Hoysaḷa period.

3. Mannēśvara temple. This is the temple that most resembles the Kadamba temples.

4. Manikēśvara temple. The gopurams of this temple are absolutely gone, but the interior reveals clear Kadamba influence; the niches in the angles of the mantapa, and the perforated screens next to the doors of the three shrines, seem to suggest that this temple was built prior to the Hoysaḷa occupation of Lakkundi. Niches crowned by gopurams and *kalaṣas*, are to be seen in the beautiful well close by.

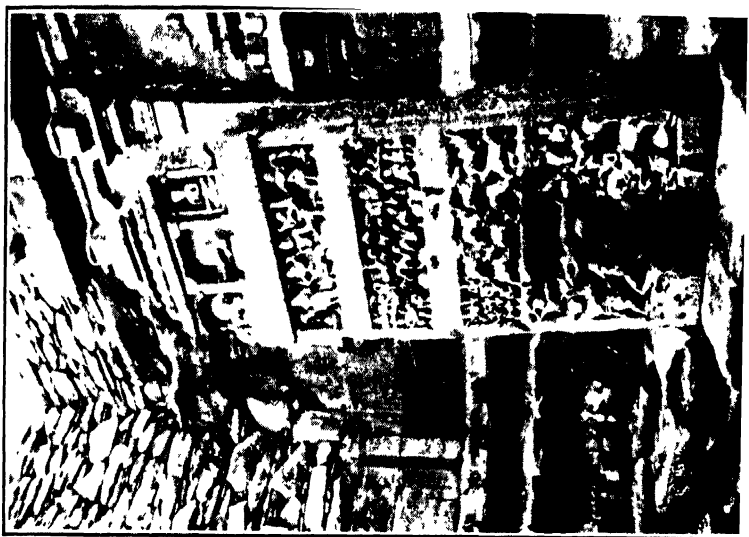
Ruins of the ancient temples and buildings are scattered all over Lakkundi. One may still see some portions of the ancient walls of the town. Within this walls on an elevated spot there is another smaller enclosure with heaps of ruins, stones and debris. I suspect that this was the royal enclosure, where the Hoysaḷa kings resided while at Lakkundi.

*Inscriptions.* There are many inscriptions and viragals, but they are of no interest for Kadamba history. Moreover the short time at our disposal did not allow us to inspect them thoroughly.

*December 28th*

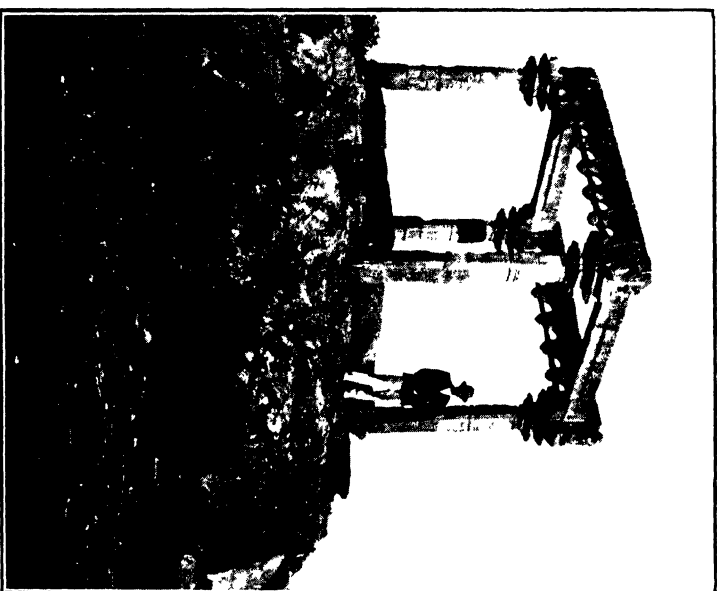
### **Lakshmesvara**

This is a Taluka town, belonging to the State of Miraj (Senior). The best way to go there is by bus from the station of Gudgeri.





Devirri. A Satikal.



Devirri. A Kadamba Mantapa.



Devirri. A Virral.

*Ancient Monuments.* Somēśvara temple is the most important among all the ancient buildings of Lakshmēśvara. The temple evidently belongs to the Hoysaḷa period, but there is a small square shrine attached to it that is of purely Kadamba style. This is evidently the original temple at that spot. On the way from Lakshmēśvara to Gudgeri, just outside the former in the fields there is another small temple in Kadamba style. The *kalaśa* is gone, as well as some of the uppermost stones of the gopuram.

There is at Laksmēśvara a beautiful small mosque in the Bijapur style and several other buildings revealing the domination of the Adil Shahi Sultans.

*Inscriptions.* The *Kolhapur Gazetteer* refers to fifty old inscriptions. We saw 15 only. Our main purpose was to take a rubbing of a long inscription of Jayaqueśi II of Goa, referred to by Fleet<sup>1</sup>, but never published. The inscription was said to be in the Somēśvara temple, but our endeavours to find it there proved totally fruitless. After much inquiry we were told that the inscriptions were transferred to the catcheri. This is within the old citadel of the town, and reminds one of those groups of whitewashed surmounted buildings, one often sees when travelling through Morocco. The inscription being at the Mamlatdar's office, we naturally had to present ourselves to this officer. He was not prepared to allow us to take a rubbing of the inscription. Probably he did not know what a rubbing was like. Happily after much discussion, persuasion and consultation, he complied with our request, but not without some misgivings. We were ushered to the garden of the catcheri, and there we found the 15 above referred to inscriptions embeded in the wall of the house. It was not difficult to recognize the inscription of Jayaqueśi II, as Fleet gives a photograph of it. The rubbing was taken in the presence of the Mamlatdar and two prominent men of the town. One of them had Marathi translations of several inscriptions found in the town. The one of Jayaqueśi was not there. But in his collection there was one of Tailapa, a Hangal Kadamba. At

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<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *P. S. & O. C. I.*, p. 17, No. 97.

our request, he promised to send as a copy of this Marathi translation.

*December 29th*

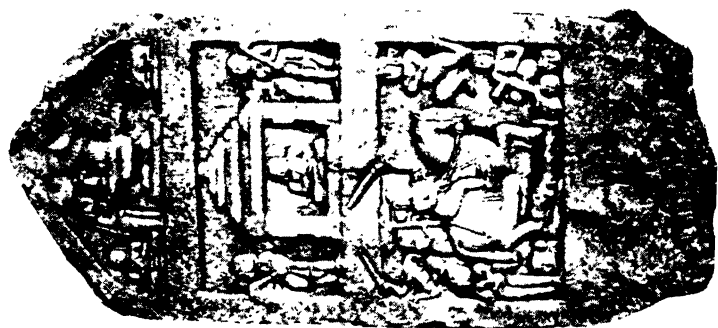
### **Dev giri**

Dev giri is a village middle way between Karajgi Station and Hāveri. The Mamlatdar of Hāveri helped us a great deal both at Dev giri and at Havāeri. He was kindness itself. Through him we made the acquaintance of two young graduates, Mr. H. G. Bengeri, Headmaster, and Mr. D. M. Karajgi, History Assistant, Municipal High School, Hāveri, much interested in epigraphy. Both were to be our most valuable helpers.

*Ancient Monuments.* Near the road just at the entrance of the village, there is a ceilingless square mantapa, built on a height. It seems to have been erected by a Kadamba monarch, or at least during the Kadamba domination, for there is the Kadamba lion on the top of one of the pillars. Next to this mantapa there is a curious satikal: the dress of the two women there represented does not look an Indian dress; they have a halo of small flames round their heads.

There are several temples at Dev giri; but for our purpose only one was interesting. That was the Bhuvanēśvara temple built in the Hoysaḷa style, though still showing some Kadamba influence. This temple is called in the *R. L. Q. R.* the temple of Yellamma, and is said to have been built by Jakhanācharya.

*Inscriptions.* Three sets of copper plates of the early Kadamba Dynasty were found here towards the middle of the XIXth century: two of them belonged to Mṛgēśavarma and one to Dēvavarma, the son and Yuvarāja of the Mahārāja Kṛṣṇavarma<sup>1</sup>. This latter grant was issued at Triparvata, the capital of the Dakshinapatha, or kingdom of the south, in relation with the Kingdom of the north, the capital of which was Banavasi. Apparently only on account of the







fact that these plates were found at Devgiri, Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil thinks it probable that Triparvata is to be identified with Devgiri <sup>1</sup>. But prescind from the fact that Devgiri is north-east to Banavasi and consequently cannot be the capital of the Dakshinapatha, there are no hills round Deogiri such as would render probable the name of Triparvata, the three hills (city).

In front of the Bhuvanēśvara temple there is an inscription dated 1460 S. S. (1538 A. D.) mentioning the Dannāyaka Śvaraya, governing the Banavasi 1200 and the Belvola 600. No rubbing of this inscription was required: Mr. Karajgi had previously taken a transcription of the same which was kindly offered to us. Near the ruined mantapa at the entrance of the village there is a beautiful viragal apparently of the Kadamba period the inscription of which is partly worn out. The hero is represented between his two wives, with haloes round their heads and their right hand risen as it is customary in the satikals. On both sides of the wives there are two *apsaras*. Probably these two wives of the hero are the two women represented in the satikal above spoken of, which stands next to this viragal.

### Haveri

This is the head of the Karajgi Taluka.

*Ancient Monuments.* There are two ancient temples close to each other:—

1. Narasimha temple. It has perforated screens on both sides of the shrine door as in the Kadamba temples.

2. Siddhēśvara temple. This is built in Hoysaḷa style, though still keeping some Kadamba characteristics, for instance the perforated screens and the mukkamantapa. The beautiful carvings of the ceiling of the mantapa, imitating wooden beams, are worth seeing. The decorative motive most used in the gopuram is the Kadamba lion (similar to that so often repeated in the Halebid temples). This seems to be the intermediate stage between the lion of the purely

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<sup>1</sup> Jouveau Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101.

Kadamba temples, and the same animal converted into a tiger fighting with Saḷa in the Hoysaḷa crest, as we find in the Hoysaḷa temples.

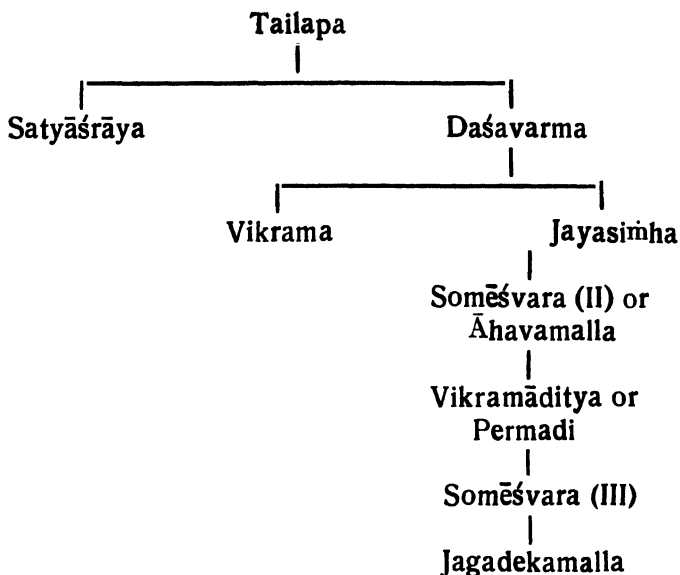
*Inscriptions.* By the side of Narasiṃha temple there are 11 inscribed slabs, some being inscriptions and some viragals. Four of those viragals seem to be of the Kadamba period. Hence the battle scenes represented on them are of the utmost importance. One, the second in order from left to right, apparently belongs to a later period, as the gopuram represented on it is much more ornamented than the others. On the topmost carving of this viragal Māruti is twice represented: this is a very interesting feature as no minor deities are usually represented on the viragals or inscriptions.

Among the inscriptions, the third is of great importance, not only on account of its literary value (as the whole inscription seems to be a poem); but also because of its relations to Banavasi, the traditional capital of the Kadambas. It is a panegyric of Nimbarāsa, the son of Madhavabatta, the Dandanāyaka of the Banavasi twelve - thousand, in the 33rd year of the Vikrama era, that corresponds to 1109 A. D. Its author Naranadēva seems to have been patronized by the eulogized Nimbarāsa. The seventh slab is also of special interest, as it contains an inscription of the Hangal Kadamba Tailapa. Mr. Karaji supplied us with transcriptions of these two records. The tenth slab, though of no special interest for us on this occasion, is most useful for the history of the Western Chalukyas: the genealogy of these monarchs contained in this inscription is different from the well known pedigree of the Chalukya family.

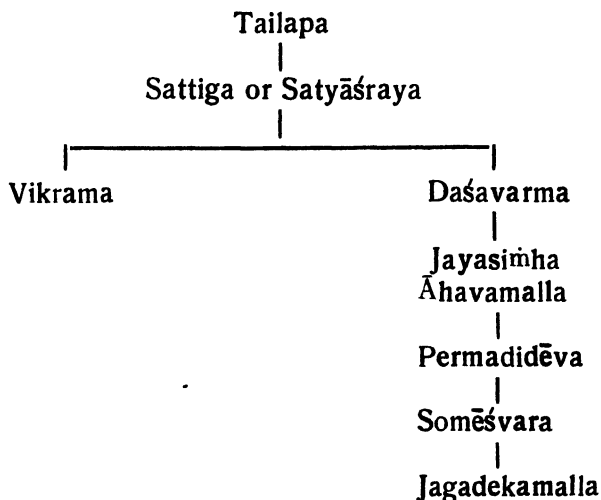
The pedigree of the Western Chalukyas as given by Fleet<sup>1</sup> and Rice<sup>2</sup>, after the study of the inscriptions known to them, is the following:—

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 73.



Now the genealogy of this Hāveri inscription is as follows:—



#### Devihosur.

4 and a half miles south-west of Devgiri. This village is the ancient town mentioned in the inscriptions as the Devihosavuru three-hundred.

**Ancient Monuments.** Outside the village there is the temple of Bānaśankara. The ancient temple has dissappeared and the new one is wholly of brick, excepting the small mantapa and a gate some few yards in front of it. There are many ancient sculpturers in the compound: its walls are fallen, and everything is in a state of great decay. In the centre of the village there is a viragal and a satikal combined, apparently without inscription.

**Inscriptions.** Near the big tank there is a viragal of the time of one "Harihara mahāmandalēśvara". He cannot be other than the founder of Vijayanagara, Harihara I, as his nephew Harihara II is already given the title of "mahārāja-dhiraja". The inscription, excepting a few words here and there, is illegible. The pedestals of the two pillars forming the gate in front of the above-mentioned temple contain two inscriptions, rubbings of which were taken.

In the compound of the same temple there is a huge broken viragal with no remains of its inscription.

December 30th

### Hirekerur

This is the head of the Taluka of that name.

**Ancient Monuments.** There are some temples in the village of no great artistic value. Yet some pieces of old sculpture here and there reveal the ancient importance of the town. Under a pipal tree, near the Girl's School, there is a huge broken statue of Vishnu in the Hoysaḷa style. Near the drinking tank there is a carving of a king on horseback of the same period. In front of Iśvara temple (formerly called Durga temple) there stands a rather large statue of a four-headed Brahma.

**Inscriptions.** Under the same pipal tree mentioned above there is a big worn out inscription, with a later Kadamba temple carved on the top. Round the drinking tank the following inscriptions are to be found:—

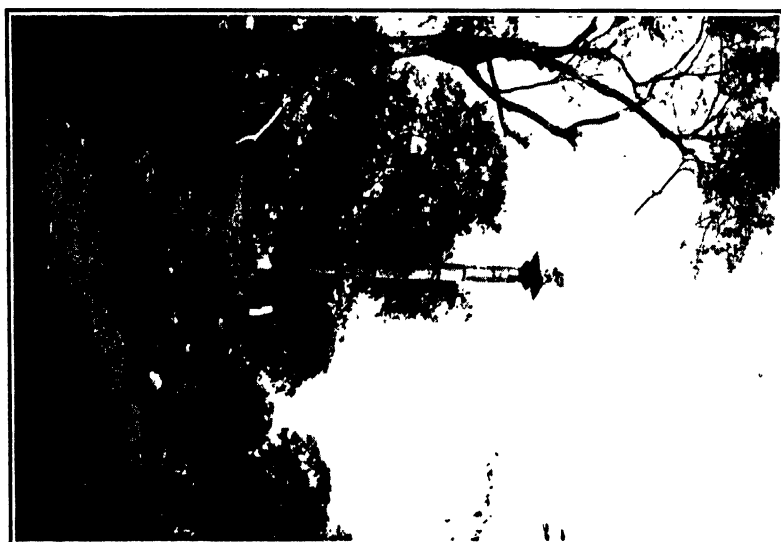
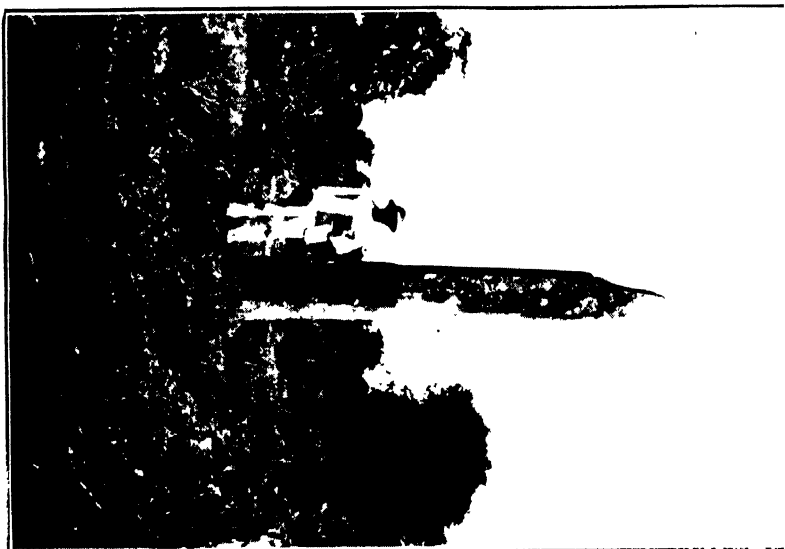
1. A huge viragal with a readable inscription in the year Vikrama, the date of the year not being mentioned.



Ratihalli. Kadambesvara Temple.



Talagunda. The Temple.



2. Another huge viragal: the hero appears squatting next to the waist of his wife represented as a woman of much bigger size in the centre of the carving.

3. Another viragal with the inscription worn out.

4. Another ditto ditto.

5. Another viragal mentioning the Chakravarti Rāmachandra Rāya (the last Yādava King of Devgiri).

6. A piece of an inscription with characters of the Chalukya type.

Finally near the outlet of the tank next to Vīrabhadra temple there is also a readable inscription.

*Coins.*— A few coins were collected here:

1. Varāha unknown. *Obv.* A queer design apparently the balcony of a house or a temple with a railing in front. *Rev.* A floral design similar to the one of the Ganga coins. I suspect that it may be a Ganga or a Hoysala coin.

2. Pratap. *Obv.* Vishnu crowned and seated, between the chakra and the conch shell. *Rev.* श्री प्रतप कृष्ण राय.

3. Pagoda of Haidar Ali. *Obv.* Haidar's initial on a granulated field. *Rev.* Śiva seated with Pārvati on his left knee; in one of the god's right hands a trisul, and in one of the left a deer.

*MS.* The Mamlatdar of Hirekerur informed us that at Ablur, a village 7 or 8 miles far, there exists an old Sanscrit *MS.* on palm leaf, entitled *Ablur Mahātmya*. The *MS.* has never been published. Some days after through the Mamlatdar of Hangal we were promised a copy of this *MS.*

## Bilambid

A small village 3 miles far from Hirekerur.

*Ancient Monuments.* Vishpariharēśvara temple, in a ruinous state and covered with earth. There are perforated screens on both sides of the shrine door.

*Inscriptions.* Round this temple the following inscriptions were seen:

1. A beautiful viragal completely buried, the upper portion only appearing.



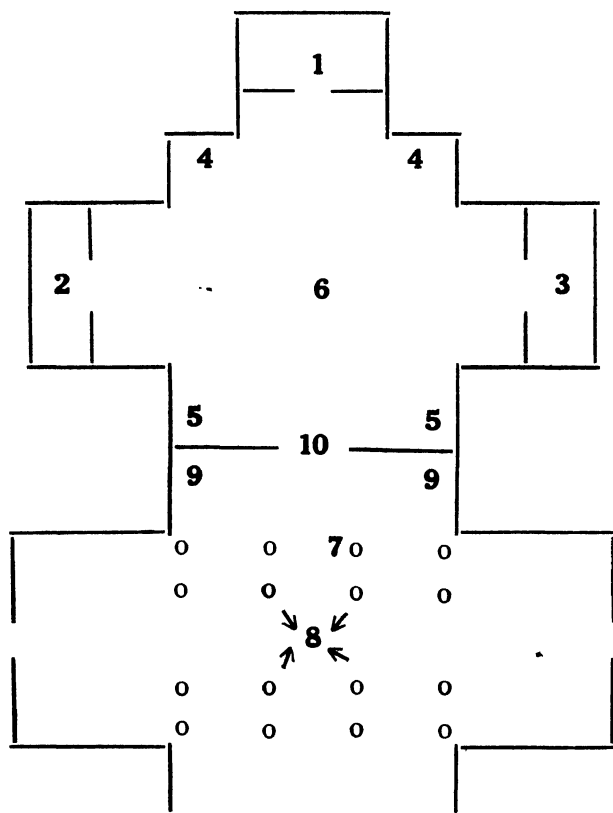
2. A big inscription in a very good state of preservation. The script is Hale-Kannada, of the Chalukya type, but the language is Sanskrit. The rubbing of this inscription was taken.

3. Another smaller inscription next to the previous one much defaced.

4. Another one near the entrance of the temple totally worn out.

### Ratihalli

10 miles east of Hirekerur.



**Ancient Monuments.** Kadambesvara temple. This is a most interesting monument. The name suggests Kadamba

origin. Yet the whole style of the temple is Hoysaḷa, and even the well known crest of the Dynasty, is seen on the gopurams, as in the temples built by Vishnuvardhana. Moreover the cruciform plan of the temple reminds one of temples at Somanathapur, Dodda-Gaddavalli and others. One of the gopurams has dissapeared, and only two are now to be seen: but there still remains the shrine under the dilapidated gopuram (No. 3). Nevertheless there are several things in the interior of the temple which confirm the opinion of the Kadamba origin of the same. The pendant nails on the lintels of the three shrines Nos. 1, 2 and 3, as well as the whole frame of these doors, are very slightly ornamented, while the nails and frame of the door No. 10 leading to the hall No. 6 are much decorated in the Hoysaḷa style. Hence it seems probable that shrine No. 1 is the primitive Kadamba shrine and shrines Nos. 2 and 3 were built by the Hoysaḷas, but after the model of shrine No. 1. The door No. 10 is purely Hoysaḷa. On the walls marked with No. 4 there are the usual niches of the Kadamba temples. Besides the four central pillars marked with No. 8 are purely Kadamba pillars, and I daresay they are pillars of the primitive mantapa in front of shrine No. 1. The other 12 pillars are of the Hoysaḷa period. To the same period evidently belong the colossal statues of Bhairava attached to walls No. 9. Opposite this temple there is a math, the kitchen of which is still called "the kitchen of the Kadamba kings".

*Inscriptions.* There are four inscriptions in this temple. Two big ones and in a very good state of preservation attached to walls No. 5. One dated 1174 in the reign of the Kalachurri king Somēśvara, and the other dated 1298 during the reign of the Yādava king Rāma Dēva. The other two are inscribed on pillar No. 7 facing the pillar of the other side. They belong to the Yādava king Singhana II and are dated 1238. Rubbings of these two inscriptions were taken. This Singhamma II had defeated the Kadambas of Goa, and in this inscriptions he calls himself *Kadambari*, the enemy of the Kadambas. After all, it is very interesting to see this king, who probably in-

flicted the last defeat on the Kadamba dynasty of Goa boasting in such a way in a temple called Kadambēśvara. In front of this temple there is a big Chalukya inscription. On the eastern side of the temple in front of the door there is a viragal in Hoysaḷa style. These two inscriptions are not noted in the *R. L. A. R.*

There are three other inscriptions, two within the fort of Rathiḷalli and one near the village gate, all belonging to the Vijayanagara Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya.

*December 31st*

### **Bellagave**

This ancient town, now a big village, is 10 miles far from Sorab in the Mysore territory.

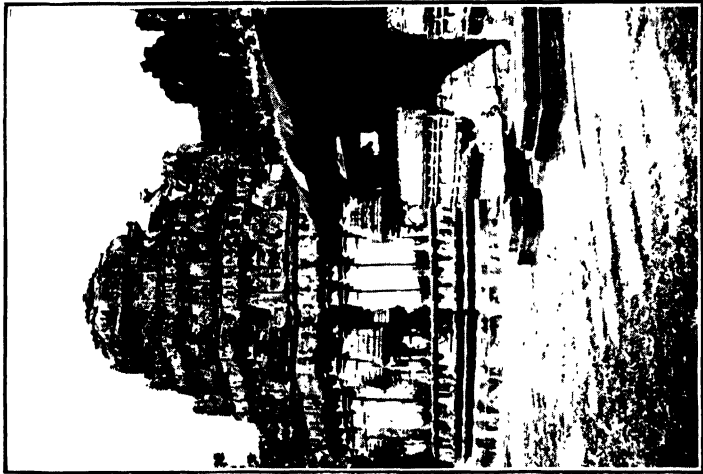
*Ancient Monuments.* There are many ancient monuments at this village, but the short time at our disposal did not allow us to survey them all. Nevertheless we saw the following, which were of special interest to us:—

1. Basavannadēva's temple. This is the first building of Bellagāve one meets with when coming from Siralkopa. It is a purely Hoysaḷa temple with three shrines and the Hoysaḷa crest on the gopurams, but it still shows Kadamba influence (for instance in niches, perforated screens, etc.). Next to this temple there are two smaller temples in a ruinous state which are probably of the time of the Kadambas, under whom this was a town of importance having many mathas. All the characteristics of Kadamba architecture are easily found in these side temples: unfortunately the gopurams have disappeared.

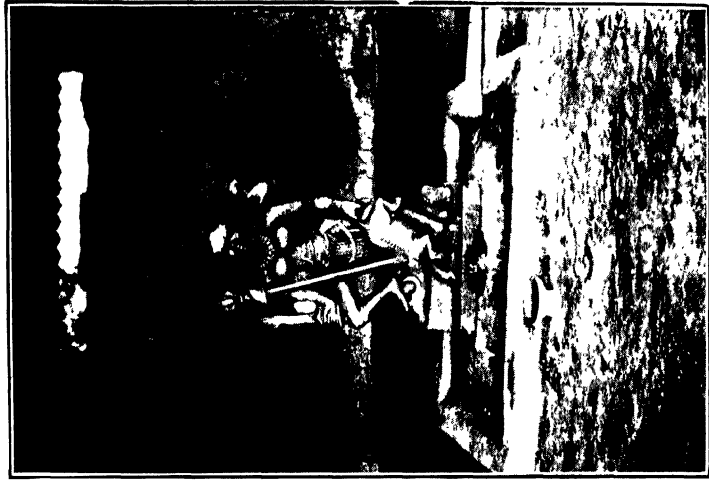
2. Tripurantakēśvara temple. This also is a purely Hoysaḷa building. The perforated screens are still kept, but they have been removed far from the shrine door, leaving place for two *dvarapalas* which are never seen in purely Kadamba temples.

3. Somēśvara temple. The outer door-way is not in the Kadamba style, but the inner one is purely Kadamba. It seems that this temple is also called Kadambēśvara.

4. Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa Pillar. This pillar was built by



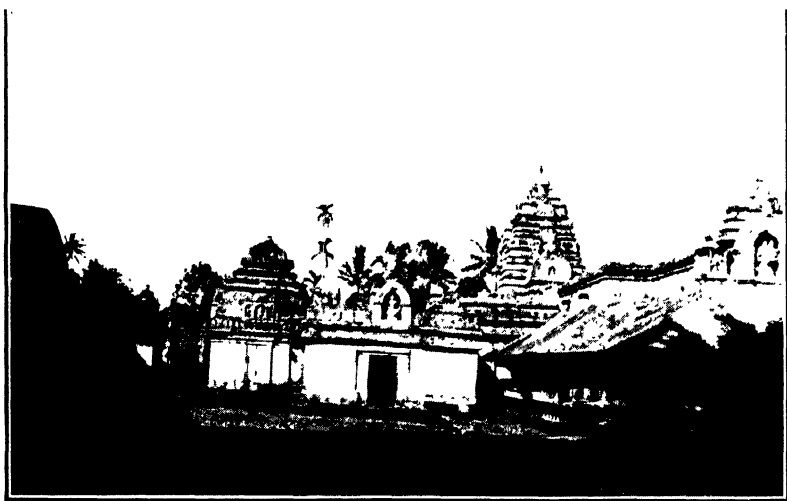
Belagave. Basavannadeva's Temple.



Jambhalli. Image of Durga.



**Hale-Banavasi. Door to the shrine of the Temple.**



**Banavasi. Madhukesvara Temple.**

Chāmunda Rāja, a mahāmandalēśvara, in the time of the Chalukyas, who governed for many years the Banavasi twelve thousand and established his capital at Beḷḷagāve.

*Inscriptions.* The *Mysore Gazetteer* says that there are at least 62 inscriptions at this village<sup>1</sup>, one of them of the time of Chāmunda Rāja on the Gaṇḍa-bhērūṇḍa pillar. All of them have been published in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. VII.

### Talagunda

This small village lies 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  miles away from Beḷḷagāve. A walk there at noon was not very pleasant, but zeal for the objective of our tour counteracted the heat of the sun, and there we arrived in a little more than half an hour.

*Ancient Monuments.* There is nothing of importance in the village itself, but half a mile north-west there is a temple in ruins which dates from the times of the early Kadambas of Banavasi. It is called Prāṇavēśvara temple. The walls of the shrine are built out of big slabs, some of which have fallen, and others are threatening to fall. One of the door-jambs (the other has disappeared), shows some ornamentation. The frame of the shrine itself is also decorated by a four-petaled flower very common in Kadamba buildings. Over this door there is a small carving of Ganapat. The rest is quite plain. The whole ceiling of the hall in front of the shrine is fallen, as well as the gopuram over the shrine. More care should be taken for the preservation of this ancient monument so closely connected with the history of early Karnataka.

*Inscriptions.* In front of the temple there is a pillar, much covered with moss, that contains the earliest Kadamba lithic record. This inscription gives a fairly good account of the origin of the early Dynasty, and of their relations with the imperial Guptas and with other dynasties. The wish to see that early document of Kadamba history had taken us to Talagunda. The pillar is a 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. square pillar in the bottom; at the height of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet the pillar becomes octagonal and on the eight faces of the pillar the inscription

runs from bottom to top, two lines on each face excepting the last but one that has one line only. The upper portion of the pillar is broken and a fragment of the same of a piramidal shape is standing on top, apparently without any union with the pillar itself. The inscription is in Sanskrit, but the script is Brahmi. It has been published in *Epigraphia Carnatica* <sup>1</sup>. and in *Epigraphia Indica* <sup>2</sup>. It is usually called 'the Talgunda inscription of Kakusthavarma', though it was inscribed, in the time of, and by order of, his son Santivarma.

*January 1st, 1929*

### Sorab

This is the head of one of the Talukas of the Shimoga District, Mysore State. It was to be our headquarters for one day, in order to proceed to the following village, and then to Banavasi. The Amildar, Mr. Chandra Sekara Wodeyar, rendered great help to us during our short stay there.

*Coins.* I was able to secure two coins from a local goldsmith:—

1. Pratap *Obv.* Gaṇḍabhērūṇḍa walking to the left, holding elephants in each beak and each claw. *Rev.* श्री

2. Varāha *Obv.* Siva and Pārvati. *Rev.* श्री

### Jambehalli

This is a small village belonging to the Sorab hobli, 4 miles from this town. We intended to go there on the day of our arrival at Sorab, viz. the 31st of December, but the bullock-cart valla, who had never been at Jambehalli and did not know the way there, took us round for two and a half hours through forest tracks, hopelessly rough, and when darkness was already coming on we had to go back to Sorab with great disappointment in our soul, and Rs. 2 less in our pocket. But next day, the Amildar, with great kindness,

*E. C.*, VII, Sk, 176.

*E. I.*, VIII, pp. 24-36.

offered his own cart to us and even accompanied us there through one of the most beautiful forests of India.

*Ancient Monuments.* Durgi temple. The old temple has totally disappeared. The only thing that remains is the old tank, cut out of the laterite rock, in the rear of the modern temple. This is only a square shed with three of its walls made of mud, and the place of the fourth wall is wholly open. The statue of the goddess Durgā as Mahishamaṛddīnī is placed on an old pedestal completely sunk into the floor. The statue seems to be very old; in cave No. 1 at Badami there is figure of Durgā as Mahishamaṛddīnī carved on one of the walls, which is absolutely like the one of the Jambhalli temple<sup>1</sup>. The main difference between the two images is that one of the right hands of the Badami figure holds the chakra rising next to the trisula on top of the spear; while the Jambhalli image has this hand resting on her raised knee and holding a sword. This is the only essential difference between the two statues, the other differences are only due to the greater or lesser skill of the sculptor. In fact the whole image of Jambhalli is much more artistic than the one of Badami; the way of holding the emblems and even the tail of the buffalo; the inclination of her head; the shape of the buffalo's legs; and even the way of introducing the spear into the neck of the buffalo all reveal a much greater artist in the Jambhalli statue. Yet the great similarity between both images show that both were carved at about the same time. Now it is quite certain that cave No. 1 of Badami was carved in the time of the early Chalukyas, most likely in the VI century A. D. Hence this image and the temple in which it was formerly enshrined were evidently made in the time of the early Kadambas, the rulers of this country while the early Chalukyas ruled at Badami.

*Inscriptions.* In front of this temple there is an inscription of 971 A. D. referring to the foundation of the temple in the reign of King Śantivarma, of the early Kadambas. The

Cf. Burgess, *Report of the First Season's Operations in the Belgam and Kaladgi Districts*, pl. XIX, No. 1; Banerji, *Basreliefs of Badami (Memoirs of the A. S. of I, No. 25)*, pl. II, b.



inscription has been published by Mr. Lewis Rice<sup>1</sup>. The top of the slab has often been used to sharpen knives: the knives used for killing buffaloes and goats in honour of the bloody goddess were must likely sharpened there. No such sacrifices are now performed there.

*January 2nd*

### **Banavasi**

Banavasi, three miles from the Mysore frontier, is the second village of the Sirsi Taluka, in the North Kanara District. Well known in ancient times to the Western Geographers, it became the capital of the early Kadambas when Mayurasarma founded the Dynasty. It was then called Vaiyajanti. It became later on the capital of the Banavasi twelve thousand kingdom, and was regarded by the later Kadamba Dynasties as the traditional capital of their family. A five hours drive across the forest in a bullock-cart was the stately manner in which we proceeded to, and entered, the ancient capital of our friendly monarchs.

*Ancient Monuments.* The ancient monuments of Banavasi may be divided into two groups, at Hale Banavasi and at Banavasi proper, respectively.

**A. Hale Banavasi.** This place is situated about half a mile south-east of Banavasi. The only two buildings standing there are two small temples. Yet the name of the place, now covered with fields, as well as two well built wells we discovered there and the numerous mounds of earth covering ruins and walls<sup>2</sup>, clearly show that this spot was the site of the old city of Banavasi or Vaiyajanti of the classical geographers, and perhaps still during the first Dynasty of the early Kadambas

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 44.

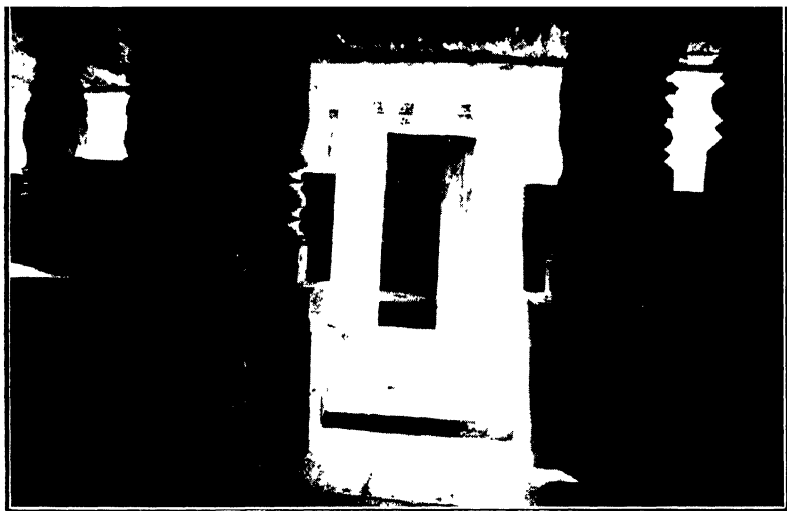
<sup>2</sup> Excavations round Hale Banavasi (Old Banavasi) would reveal many archaeological and also possibly epigraphical treasures connected with the early history of Banavasi and of the Kadamba family. It is to be hoped that the Archaeological Department, Western Circle, will take up this task in the near future.



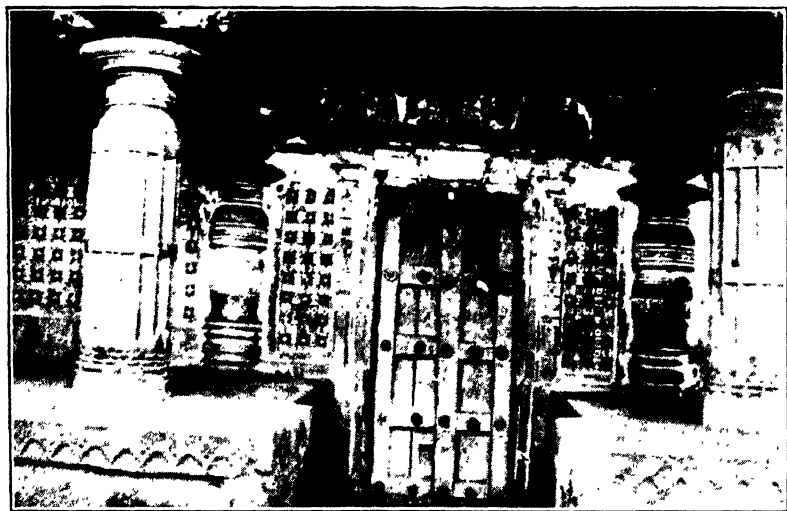
**Banavasi. Walls of the old City.**



**Banavasi. One of the gates of the enclosure.**



Banavasi Main door to the ancient Kadamba Temple.



Banavasi. Door to the compound of the ancient Kadamba Temple.

The largest of the two temples above referred to enshrines a linga. A small square mantapa stands in front of it. Over the lintel of the shrine-door there is the figure of Gajalakshmi, as in many Kadamba temples. Next to the door are two niches over which there are carved gopurams; but there are no perforated screens. At the foot of the door - jambs there are two *dwarapalas*, and two more at the foot of the pillar next to the door jambs. These features are certainly not Kadamba characteristics. Moreover the four main pillars of the mantapa are much ornamented, thus suggesting a later period. We may therefore conclude that the old Kadamba temple was destroyed or ruined, and was perhaps rebuilt in the time of the Kadambas of Hangal by one of the governors placed there by the Chalukyas. The temple has since suffered some deperadation; for instance the parapet along the resting place that runs round the mantapa is altogether gone, and only the sockets in which the different pieces of that parapet were fixed, are to be seen. In front of this temple there is a ruined tank; and now in its centre there is a Nandi, a piece of a pillar and an old statue of a nude Virabhadra.

Next to this temple there is a modern shrine containing some statues of the old ruined temples of the place: they are images of Durga and Ganapat. One of the steps leading to the shrine is a beautiful piece of a beam with two of the four-petaled flowers so common in Kadamba temples. Leaning against the platform of the shrine there are five Nagas of different sizes and designs.

## B. Banavasi proper.

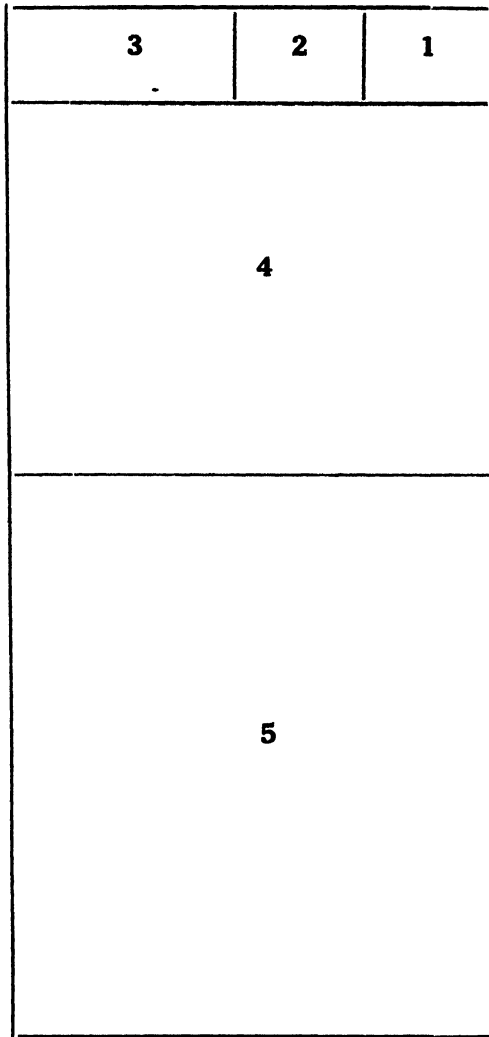
1. The walls of the ancient town are one of the most remarkable things at Banavasi, though many visitors pay no attention to this precious relic of old days. They are built of huge blocks of stone, partly granite and partly laterite, with a base of about 15 ft. of breadth. The walls slope towards the top, at a height of 35 ft. or 40 ft. from the base-ment. They are now covered with earth in which bushes and trees grow, sometimes totally hiding those ancient defences of the town. A moat surrounds these walls.

2. Another very interesting thing is the flight of steps going from the top of the town—which is partly built on a hill over the river Varada—to the said river. It is evidently an old construction though now partly rebuilt using pieces of sculpture and pillars to replace steps broken or totally gone.

3. Madhukēśvara temple. The main temple seems originally to have been built by the Kadambas, but the whole building has been overloaded with unsuitable decorations that spoil the severe beauty of the first construction. These decorations seem to belong to the period of Chalukya domination. But to the left of this temple, and in front of its beautiful mantapa, there is a small temple with its hall, which is evidently the early temple of the place, much older than the other one. The door and the gopuram are in strict Kadamba style. The direction of this small temple is at right angles to the other one, so that its door faces the side of the mantapa that extends in front of the main temple. Now if you go straight through this mantapa following the direction of that door, you will come across another door, now always closed, on the side wall of the temple compound. If you go round outside you will see the beautiful primitive entrance of the temple: the door frame, the perforated screens, the fluted pillars, the gopurams carved over the door lintel separated from each other by walking lions, all declare the Kadamba origin of this door-way, much more beautiful than the present one.

To the right of the Madhukēśvara temple there is another temple dedicated to Pārvati. There are three shrines, and all have the Kadamba perforated screens on the sides of the door; yet the whole building seems more recent than the small temple spoken of just now. Moreover several stages of construction may be distinguished in this building. Nos. 1 and 2 are the oldest portions built probably in the times of Kadamba domination. No. 3 seems to be built in the times of the Western Chalukyas, partly imitating the other primitive shrines. The mantapa No. 4 is of the same time, while the other larger mantapa, No. 5, looks much more recent. Round the compound of the temple there are several small shrines

almost all belonging to the Chalukya period. In one of these shrines there is a very large bedstead of polished black granite, elaborately carved, presented to the god Madhukēśvara by the ancient chiefs of Sunda.



4 Next to a chaudi, in front of Madhukēśvara temple, there is a small shrine of Tirumala Rāja, with a huge but

not artistic image of Vishnu. The style of the temple is purely Kadamba: gopuram, perforated screens, door-frames, plain pillars of the mantapa, etc., show an early Kadamba architect. Another similar shrine with a beautiful Kadamba gopuram is to be seen behind the previous one, on the other side of the road going to Hale Banavasi.

5. Relics of other temples and buildings are scattered all over the town. Round a pipal tree in front of the eastern gate of the walls there are five Nagas and a much mutilated and beheaded image of a seated Tirthankara. Next to the Jaina street, in a side lane, there is a huge half-buried statue of Durga. Round a tree in front of Madhukēśvara temple seven Nagas and a piece of sculpture.

6. The Jaina basti is a modern building.

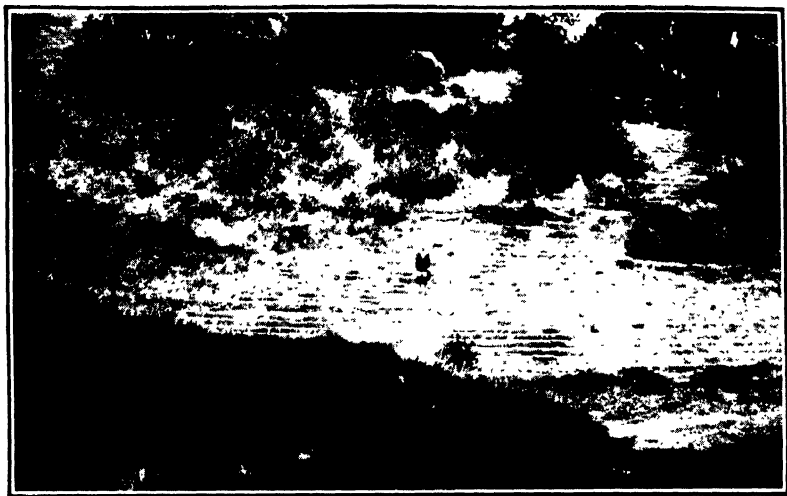
*Inscriptions.* There are 12 inscriptions in the compound of the temple, all of them well known<sup>1</sup>. The earliest inscription runs round a Naga kept in an ugly modern shrine. It is dated during the year of king Haritiputra Sātakarni, one of the Andhrabritiyas, who apparently reigned in the II<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. Among the other inscriptions there are two inscriptions of Kirtidēva, a Hangal Kadamba, recently published by Dr. Lionel D. Barnett<sup>2</sup>. One of these inscriptions has the Kadamba crest on top, viz. a lion walking to the right, with the left paw a little raised.

*Coin.* One coin of Vijayanagara was secured here. It is a pratap of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. *Obv.* Vishnu ornamented seated on a throne between *chakra* and *shanka*. *Rev.* श्री प्रताप कृष्ण राज.

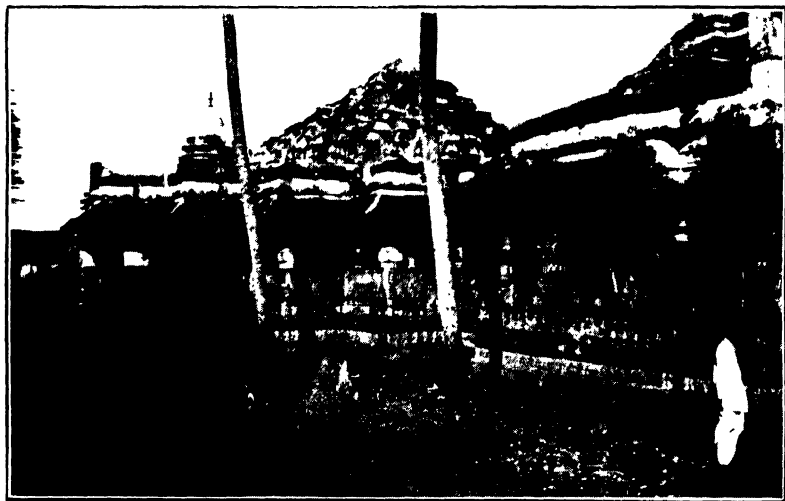
*MS.* An Ancient Sanskrit MS. on palm leaves entitled *Banavasi Chetra Purana* was traced during our stay at Banavasi. It promises to be very interesting as regards the history of the temples. It has never been published so far. Its owner, one Mr. Dikshit, promised to send me a faithful copy of the same.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *N. K. G.*, pp. 261-264.

<sup>2</sup> *E. I.*, XVI, pp. 353-361.

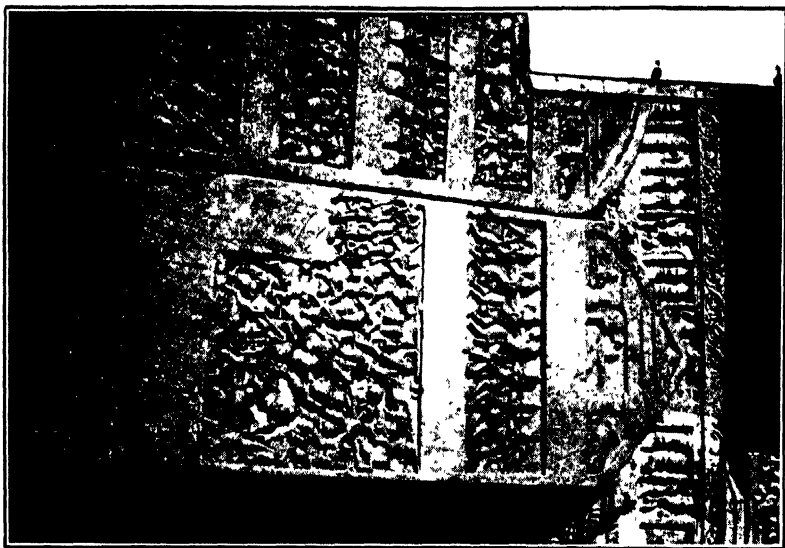


**Banavasi. Flight of steps leading to the river.**



**Hangal. Tarakesvara Temple.**





*January 3rd*

### Hangal

Hangal, the head of its taluka, in the Dhawar District, was reached via Sirsi. According to tradition, the Pandavas spent here part of their exile from Northern India. The ancient name of the place Virātkōte and Virātnagari the fort or city of Virat, which occurs in the inscriptions, seems to confirm this tradition. For Virat was, according to the Mahābhārata, the king at whose court the Pandavas spent the thirteenth year of their exile. Later on the city was in the inscriptions called Panungal, and as such was the capital of a Kadamba Dynasty from the 11th to the 13th centuries. The province or kingdom was called the Panungal five hundred. Mr. J. N. Kadkot, Mamlatdar, gave us every possible help both in Hangal and in the villages of the surroundings belonging to his Taluka.

*Ancient Monuments.* The first thing the visitor comes across are the walls of the ancient town and citadel, very similar to, but not as lofty as, those of Banavasi. The place surrounded by them is still called *Hale-Kōte*, or old fort<sup>1</sup>.

Besides this venerable relic of old days, the other ancient monuments of Hangal are the following:—

1. Tarakēśvara temple. This is the main temple of the village. It has two mantapas in front of one another, and in front of the first there is a lamp pillar<sup>2</sup>. The pendant lotus flower in the ceiling of the second mantapa may compete with the ceilings of Belur and Somanathapur in both art and execution. To the east of the first mantapa in the temple compound there is a beautiful mutilated image in the Hoysaḷa style, that reminds one of the *dwarapalas* of the Hoysaḷēśvara temple at Halebid. The style of both the temple and mantapas is purely Hoysaḷa, and the Hoysaḷa crest that appears in front of the gopuram shows that it was built by a Hoysaḷa monarch. Now Hangal was not for a very

<sup>1</sup> A plan of this fort may be seen in *I. A.*, V, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> For a plan and elevation of this temple, see *Ibid.*, p. 180.

long time under the Hoysaḷas: in the beginning of the XIIth century it had been conquered by Vishnuvardhana, and his son Narasiṃha I was for a time residing there. But one of the inscriptions of Hangal which we shall mention below, represents Ballāḷa II, Narasiṃha I's son, as besieging Hangal, then in the possession of the Kadamba Kāmadēva. This shows that Hangal was under the Hoysaḷas during part of the reign of Vishnuvardhana and during the reign of Narasiṃha I only; Hangal being probably lost to the Hoysaḷas in the beginning of Ballāḷa II's reign. Consequently the Tarakēśvara temple was built by Vishnuvardhana or by his son. The fact that there is an inscription of Kāmadēva inside the temple and two viragals of the time of the same king just in front of the first mantapa, confirms the opinion that the temple was built before his taking possession of the town and therefore during the short time of the Hoysaḷa domination. Kāmadēva, the Kadamba king, when taking possession of the capital of his ancestors did not destroy the beautiful temple constructed by his enemies, but carefully mutilated the Hoysaḷa crest. The statue of Saḷa killing the tiger that appears in front of the gopuram has its head chipped off. Another sculpture of the same crest, now on top of the main gate of the temple-compound, is more wisely mutilated. The statue of Saḷa has totally disappeared: only his hand holding the dagger could not be removed as it was resting on the mane of the so-called tiger. Hence for the mere passer by and not keen observer of these minute details, that so-called tiger, which once formed part of the Hoysaḷa crest, appears now as if it were the lion of the Kadamba crest.

2. *Īśvara temple.* It stands on an elevation at Hale-Kōte. The back portion is in a good state, but the gopuram has disappeared, as well as the whole mantapa. A new wall has been built by the Archaeological Department, to protect the ruinous walls in front of the shrine. In spite of this the right door jamb is lying turned upside down on a mound of earth, and the lintel of the same door is lying twenty feet away. Next to the door there are two beautiful pieces of sculpture: one is a group of the *saptamātrakas* and the other is *Gaja-lakshmi*. The style of the temple and

sculptures is Hoysaḷa, though the temple perhaps was not built by any Hoysaḷa monarch. For the Hoysaḷa style was perfectly developed when Hangal fell into the possession of Vishnuvardhana; and this temple appears to belong to an epoch of transition. The shape of the shrine for instance is neither square, like the Kadamba temples; nor star-like, like the temples built by Vishnuvardhana and his successors; but it shows an intermediate stage between the square and the star<sup>1</sup>.

3. Hanumanta temple. A few yards from the Íśvara temple. It is a modern building but sculptures and images of the old temple of Íśvara have been gathered around it; and leaning against a tree there is a seated statue of a nude Virabhadra.

4. Damoa temple. It is also a modern building. In front of it there are several pieces of sculpture taken from ruined temples of Hoysaḷa style.

5. Kallēśvara temple. Also within Hale-Kōte and built out of pieces of sculpture of ancient days. Next to the door, two different-sized statues of Vishnu, of the Kadamba times. Inside the shrine a linga, and in front outside a Nandi.

*Inscriptions.* The *D. G.* mentions some inscriptions which we were not able to find. Other inscriptions however were traced, which are mentioned neither in the *D. G.* nor in the *R. L. A. R.*

1. In front of Tarakēśvara temple. A viragal of the time of the Kadamba Kāmadēva referring to the siege of the town of Hangal by Vīra Ballāḷa II, in 1196. Rubbing taken. The carvings are very beautiful and represent vivid battle scenes. One of the carvings shows the topmost portion of the walls of Hangal.

2. Another viragal at the same place. It also refers to the same siege, and seems to have been made by the same sculptor. Rubbing taken. One of the carvings represents a

<sup>1</sup> Excavations round this temple woul also be very fruitful; there are several ruined buildings and sculptures buried under mounds of earth.

corner of the fort of Hangal being attacked by the army of Ballāla II.

3. A third viragal at the same place. Rubbing of inscription taken. Among the carvings, undoubtedly due to another sculptor, there is one unique among the viragals I have seen hitherto, representing Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, besides minor deities.

4. An inscription on a pillar inside the shrine of the temple. It belongs to Kāmadēva. The inscription was copied.

5. In front of Hanumanta temple, within Hale-Kote, there is an inscription that gives a genealogical account of the Kadambas of Hangal. Rubbing taken.

6. At the foot of one of the statues of Vishnu in front of Kaliśvara temple a small inscription. Rubbing taken.

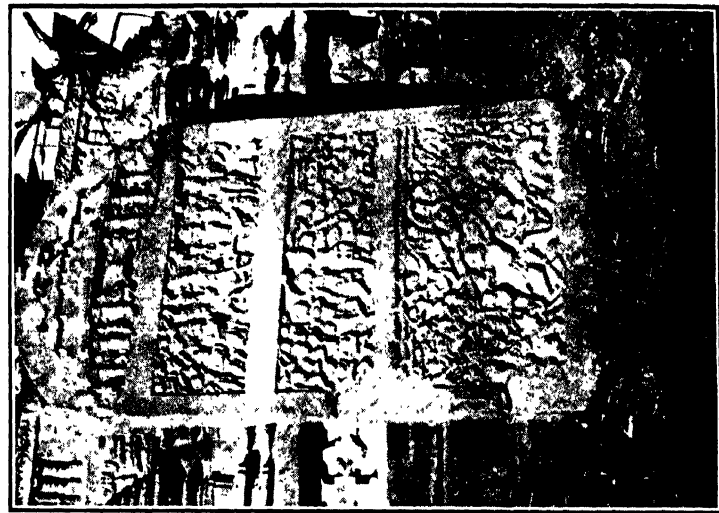
7. The image of Nandi in front of the same temple stands over a huge slab of the following shape:—

This seems to be an inscription or a viragal turned upside down.

8 and 9. Over the *Kappala-bāmi*, or well, inside the same fort, there is an inscription and a large fragment of another, both of the time of the Kadambas of Hangal. Rub-



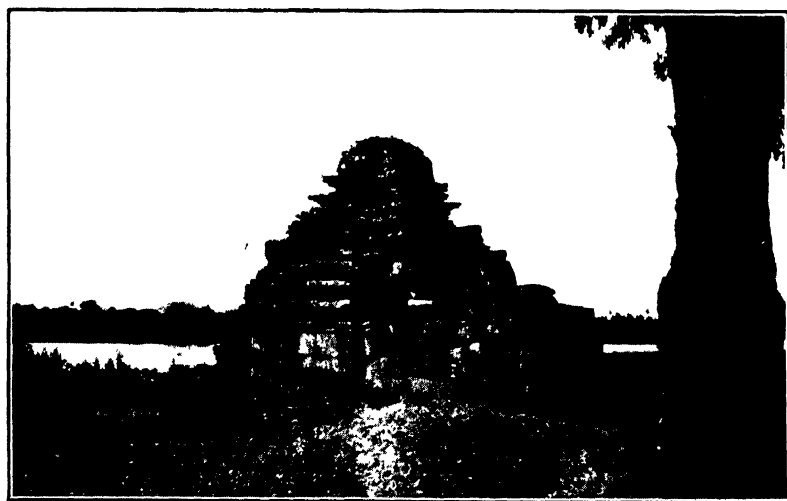
Hangal. A Viragal unearthed near the Kappala-bani.



Hangal. A Kadamba Viragal.



**Sringeri. Mr. Moraes taking the rubbing of an inscription on the upper portion of a weir.**



**Yalavatti. Kallamesvara Temple.**

blings were taken. It is a pity to find such precious historical documents absolutely uncared for.

10. More sad is the case of a precious viragal of the same period, with beautiful bold carvings, that was lying buried next to the well. We discovered its existence by catching sight of two inches of the top that appeared above the mud. With the help of a coolie we worked for more than two hours, unearthing and cleansing that interesting document. Rubbing taken.

11. In front of Damoa temple, under a tree, a viragal, apparently of the Hoysaḷa time.

12. By the side of a path running next to the above temple towards the Kappala-bāmi, there lies an upper fragment of a Kadamba inscription.

13 and 14. To the left of the road going to the modern village, near the sluice of the Annikeri tank, there are two badly damaged viragals.

### *January 4th*

#### **Sringeri**

This is a small village about six miles south-west of Hāṅgal, three miles from the road.

*Inscriptions.*— The *D. G.* published in 1884, speaks of a Hale-Kannaḍa inscription placed on the stone weir across the Dharma river. Forty-five years after the inscription is still lying there covered by water on many occasions. Fortunately it was only covered with mud at the time of our visit. So, after cleansing the slab, we took a rubbing, not without some difficulty. The inscription has 92 lines. On the centre of the weir there is a viragal fixed upright. The scene represented in the lower portion shows a battle between two kings, easily recognised by the umbrellas over their heads. Two elephants and one horse are seen in the midst of the struggle. I suspect this viragal refers to the same fight between Ballāḷa II and Kāmadēva; but the inscription accompanying these carvings is partly obliterated and one cannot make out its contents. There are also two Jaina viragals, one legible and another illegible. Near the river there



is the lower portion of another viragal with some few letters mentioning one Siddhapa.

*Ancient Monuments.* Fixed upright on the weir there are eight Hoysaḷa pillars, and as slabs to pave the same weir two beautiful lotus flowers from the ceiling of a temple. All these remains, as well as the above inscriptions, come from ruined temples at Hangal.

### Balehalli

Six miles south-west of Hangal near the road.

*Ancient Monuments.* There are two temples:—

1 Siddhēśvara temple. It is plain, built in early Kadamba style (perforated screen on both sides of shrine door). A group of the *saptamātrakas* and other sculptures round the temple. The walls of this are totally covered with earth. Round the temple there are several mounds that need to be excavated.

2 Mallēśvara temple. This is a modern building.

*Inscriptions.* In front of Siddhēśvara temple there are seven viragals. There is another small broken Jaina viragal in front of Mallēśvara temple. In the forest near the fields north-east of the village there is a large partly buried inscription of a Kadamba king, probably Mallikārjuna I of Hangal. Unfortunately we could not take rubbing of the inscription. Much spade work would be required for this. Thorny bushes are growing round, covering the whole slab, apparently unknown to the Archaeological Department and totally forgotten by many of the villagers themselves. Near the village tank we came across two partly buried viragals with worn out inscriptions: one of them is broken into two pieces. Another viragal is placed over the sluice of the tank. Next to it there is a satikal and an inscription totally buried; only the carving on top is to be seen. Next to the sluice itself a huge Chalukya inscription in very good state: it mentions Valhaba, the founder of the Dynasty, and Jagadekamalla.

### Kyasanur

Seven miles south-west of Hangal and eight miles west of Balehalli.

*Ancient Monument.* Išvara temple with a linga and Nandi, all in ruins, and a side shrine.

*Inscriptions.* Round this temple there are four inscriptions in Hale-Kannada, partly buried. All are unpublished. One of them belongs to the Hangal Kadamba Mallikārjuna II. Rubbing could not be taken for lack of time. In the centre of the village there is a very old damaged inscription, the rubbing of which was taken. It belongs to the Hangal Kadamba Mallikārjuna I. It is also unpublished.

### Adur

Ten miles east of Hangal.

*Ancient Monuments.* Opposite the village on a neighbouring hill there is a small fort and within the same a temple. In the centre of the village there is the temple of Rāma Dēva in the Vijayanagara style, but very plain. Opposite this temple but in the same compound, there is a small shrine with a door of the later Kadamba period. At the foot of this shrine there is a beautiful Hoysala sculpture. To the east of the village is the Kāllamēśvara temple, with a linga and two Nandis. The whole temple is very simple, being most likely of Kadamba origin, though some pieces of sculpture of Hoysala style are superadded, for instance the frame of the first door to the shrine. The walls of this temple are partly covered with earth. Outside there is a much mutilated Jaina Tirthankara, a part of a canopy of another Tirthankara, and two roughly carved Nagas. On the top of a hill to the west of the village a huge slab with a roughly carved tiger.

*Inscriptions.* On the same hill, just now spoken of, there is an inscription of Mayurasarma II, a Hangal Kadamba. Unfortunately no rubbing could be taken, owing to lack of ink. At the foot of this hill, but on the other side of the road, in a field, there is another inscription apparently

**Chalukya.** One of the pillars of the sluice of the tank has a short Hale-Kannada inscription of the Chalukya period. On the side of Kāllamēśvara temple a large viragal with a very big figure of the hero, sword in hand. Behind the same temple two inscriptions, apparently Rashtrakuta. The smaller one is absolutely worn out; the larger one is in good condition. A rubbing of this was taken. There is a very interesting detail in this inscription: to the right of the linga carved on top there is a plough, and to the left two fishes placed in parallel. These two symbols are not the ordinary symbols of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty: their crest was a Garuda. Yet in a viragal of the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III at Māvali, Mysore, the fishes and the plough appear again<sup>1</sup>.

*January 5th*

### Nidasingui

Ten miles north from Hangal.

**Ancient Monuments.** Kāllamēśvara temple. Totally buried under mud, forming a mound, only the door being exposed. The building is in the Hoysaḷa style.

**Inscriptions.** Close to the door of this temple there is a small and very rough viragal, with the inscription worn out. Next to a pond not far from this temple there are two illegible viragals. Mr. Fleet mentions an inscription of Mallikārjuna II, a Hangal Kadamba, as existing in this village<sup>2</sup>; and the *D. G.* speaks of two inscriptions of 1109 and 1110 A. D.<sup>3</sup> Yet the Patel of the village, who is fifty years old, told us that there is no other inscription in the village. Hence we may conclude that either this inscription of Mallikārjuna has been removed from the village, or it is one of those two viragals now totally illegible.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 564, (2nd ed.)

<sup>3</sup> *D. G.*, p. 783.

## Yalavatti

Half a mile south of Nidasingui.

*Ancient Monuments.* On the way from Nidasingui to Yalavatti one comes across a small shrine, next to which there is a statue in Hoysala style. In the big tank, which is passed before reaching Yalavatti, there are three Gaja-lakshmis appearing above the surface of the water, one of them on top of one of the sluices.

In the village itself we visited two Hindu temples and one Jaina basti:—

1. Jaina basti with a strictly Kadamba gopuram. Small square mantapa in front. The fluted pillars of this mantapa are like those of the old entrance of the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavasi. In this mantapa there is a nude statue of a standing Parshmanatha.

2. Ramēśvara temple. It is in the Hoysala style. Before the door there are two stone elephants. In front of the temple to the right of the entrance stands a satikal representing three women, a mutilated statue of Ganapat, a dancing-girl and a Naga. The gopuram or gopurams of the temple have disappeared, and the whole building is in a ruinous state. The rear of the temple is wholly covered with earth forming a mound over which trees freely grow.

3. Kāllamēśvara temple. It is apparently called Mallēśvara by the *R. L. A. R.*<sup>1</sup> This is a most interesting temple built in early Kadamba style. It is a pity that the kalaśa on top of the gopuram has disappeared. The perforated screens are plain. The mantapa is totally gone. Inside there is a linga and outside a Nandi in front of the door.

*Inscriptions.* Five inscriptions were examined:—

1 and 2. Two small Jaina viragals near the steps leading to the Jaina basti. Inscriptions illegible.

3. An inscription of Tailapa, a Hangal Kadamba, in good state, in front of Ramēśvara temple. It was copied for us by our friends Messrs. Bengeri and Karajgi, who accompanied us in our tour that day.

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<sup>1</sup> *R. L. A. R.*, p. 137.

4. A viragal with fairly readable inscription dated Śaka 1010 (1088 A.D.) in the yard of the house of Yelegar Karibasappa.

5. A huge inscription—the biggest we saw during the whole of our tour—near the Kāllamēśvara temple. It belongs to the same Hangal Kadamba, Tailappa. The slab is four feet broad; three feet of the inscription (including top carving) appeared above ground. In order to take a rubbing we dug a pit four feet deep round the inscription, without reaching the end of the record. Since it was getting dark we could not continue working, and the rubbing of that portion only was taken. The villagers told us that about 30 years ago a European gentleman encamped near the Kāllamēśvara temple, dug a trench near the inscription and read the whole of it. That gentleman undoubtedly was Mr. Fleet, who refers to this document<sup>1</sup>. Yet it has never been published.

*January 6th*

### Dharwar

We stopped at Dharwar in order to go to Bhavilal, where, according to Mr. Fleet, there is an inscription of Jayaqueśi II, a Goa Kadamba<sup>2</sup>. But unfortunately nobody could give us any information about this village, not even knowing its situation. Afterwards we found from the *D. G.* itself it was about twelve miles north-west of Dharwar. The *R. L. A. R.* says that Bhavilāl or Bhanvilāl is “a deserted village, 3 miles east from Madhanbhānvi near Garag”<sup>3</sup>. Besides one inscription—referred to by Mr. Fleet—there is an “old temple of Siddhēśvara, built of black stone, with 22 square pillars”<sup>4</sup>. This is most likely a Kadamba temple. Our visit had to be cancelled owing to lack of information. But, as luck would have it, we unexpectedly found four Kadamba inscriptions at Dharwar itself.

Fleet, o. c., p. 562.

Fleet, o. c., p. 568.

*R. L. A. R.*, p. 121.

*Ibid.*

*Inscriptions.* In the incipient museum which the Bombay Government has established at the Karnatak College, there are already five inscriptions, two of them very large ones. Four of these inscriptions, to our great surprise, happened to be Kadamba inscriptions, two of them come from Māngundi and two from Devar-Hubli both villages in the Dharwar Taluka. The *R. L. A. R.* mention, indeed, two inscriptions at Māngundi, one at the temple of Siddhalinga and another at the temple of Kāllamēśvaradēva. But none are mentioned as existing at Devar-Hubli<sup>1</sup>. The *D. G.* only refers to a Jakhanāchārya temple of Śrī Ranganatha<sup>2</sup>. Perhaps these two inscriptions or one of them at least, were formerly in the neighbourhood of this temple. These four inscriptions seem to have escaped the diligence of Mr. Fleet.

Principal H. V. Hampton, Karnatak College, very kindly gave us every facility to take rubbings of these four inscriptions. One of them belongs to the Goa Kadamba Shivachitta. It bears a Jaina Tirthankara on top.

On January 7th we left Dharwar for Bombay. Summing up the results of our tour we may give the following statistics:—

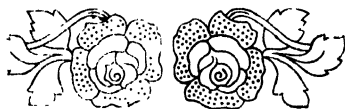
Towns and villages visited . . . . .	34
Temples studied . . . . .	73
Forts examined . . . . .	8
Inscriptions examined . . . . .	165
Rubbings taken . . . . .	32
Inscriptions copied . . . . .	7
Copper-plate grants found . . . . .	1
Coins secured . . . . .	24
MSS. traced . . . . .	6
Photographs taken . . . . .	106

The amount of historical materials still lying untouched in the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency is con-

<sup>1</sup> *R. L. A. R.*, pp. 121 and 122.

<sup>2</sup> *D. G.*, p. 665.

siderable. Two volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica of the Bombay Presidency* could be easily compiled and would be most welcome by all the historians of India and by all the lovers of Karnataka. If all the inscriptions of the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts are gathered into the Karnatak College, Dharwar, this task will be much easier.



# Q u e r i e s

1. *We are told that Shāhaji, Shivaji's father, was given a jagir in the Mysorean country by the Bijapur Sultan. Are there any local records refering to this fact?*

Yes, in the Śivaganga Hill, Nalamanagala Taluka, Mysore District, there is an inscription dated 1652, that mentions Sāhoji (Shāhaji). The inscription is engraved on a boulder near one of the tirthas called Kaṇuva Tirtha. The epigraph records that this tirtha was built by order of Gangādhara-svāmi-ayya, "during the rule of Sāhoji-mahārāja". (*M.A.R.*, 1914-15, p. 61, No. 95). This shows that the jagir allotted to Shāhaji extended to the present District of Mysore.

2. *Were there Jesuits at the court of Aurangzeb and his successors, as there had been at the court of the great Mughal Emperors?*

The Jesuit missions of Agra and Lahore suffered a tremendous setback in the reign of Shah Jahan, when this Emperor captured Hūgli and took prisoners to his court several missionaries and four thousand Christians. (*Bādshānāma*, Elliot, *History of India*, VII, pp. 35, 42-43; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 177, Constable ed. Cf. Campos, *The Portuguese in Bengal*, p. 139). On this occasion the Emperor caused the church to be dismantled, though he confirmed the Jesuits in the possession of houses and lands granted to them by Akbar and Jahangir (Felix, *Mughal Farmāns, Parwānahs and Sanads*, pp. 25-26). Accordingly the Jesuits remained at Agra during all the time of Shah Jahan's reign (Manrique, *Travels*, II, p. 179), and even enjoyed the decided protection of Prince Dāra Shukoh (Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 223-224; Bernier, o. c., p. 289; Catrou, *Histoire Generale de l'Empire du Mogol*, p. 225, Paris, 1705). The Jesuit College at Agra is spoken of during the whole reign of Shah Jahan (Cf. Hosten, *Jesuit Missionaries in Northern India*, pp. 30-33).

Of the time of Aurangzeb we know the following Jesuits



whose epitaphs may be read at the Padre Santos' Chapel, in the Christian Cemetery of Agra:—

Fr. Henry Roth, a German and a great Sanskritist.

Fr. Marco Antonio Santucci, an Italian.

Fr. Francisco de Souza

Fr. Paulo de Mattos

Fr. Joseph da Costa Portuguese.

Fr. Mattheo de Paiva

Fr. Joseph de Paiva

Another Jesuit, Fr. Henri Uwens, of Dutch nationality, is said to have been teaching Christian Doctrine for twenty-four years at Agra, and to have been for many years the master of Aurangzeb's younger son (Hazart, *Kerckelyke Historie*, IV, p. 274). The Emperor confirmed, by a farmān issued in the 14th year of his accession, a donation made to Fr. Joseph de Castro at Lahore, by Emperor Jahangir (Felix, o. c., p. 24); and by another farmān issued in the 37th year of his reign declared that "Padri Rator, Padri Michael, Padri John Emmanuel, Padri Anās, Padri Diūk" were exempted from paying capitation tax (Ibid., pp. 30-32).

Bahādur Shah, Aurangzeb's son and successor, was always favourable to the Jesuits (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, X, pp. 234-235, Paris 1781). He, in the first year of his reign, confirmed the privileges granted to the Fathers by Aurangzeb (Felix, o. c., pp. 32-33). Fr. Francis Borgia Koch died at Agra in 1711, during his reign, as his epitaph at the Padre Santos' Chapel testifies. Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, IV, p. 283, speaks of some Jesuit Priests at Lahore. The Portuguese Viceroy sent Fr. João de Abreu as an Ambassador to Bahādur Shah (Gracias, *Uma Dona Portuguesa*, p. 111).

Another Jesuit, Fr. Joseph da Silva was sent as an Ambassador to the court of Farrukhsiyar (Ibid., pp. 131, 132, &c.). At this time there was Fr. Manuel Freyre at Delhi, and two Fathers at Agra (Cf. Hosten, o. c., p. 36). One of these Fathers seems to be Fr. Manuel Durão (Gracias, o. c., pp. 139-140). The Emperor extended to the Fathers residing at

Delhi the privileges granted by his predecessors to the Fathers of Agra (Felix, o. c., pp. 35-36).

During the reign of Muhammad Shah, Fr. Manuel Figueiredo had been Rector of the College of Agra (Cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, IX, col. 337). He was an astronomer who enjoyed the friendship of Mahārāja Jai Singh II, of Jaipur. At the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah there were two Portuguese Jesuits at Delhi, and their house was burnt in the general conflagration. (*Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, IV, pp. 260-261). Muhammad Shah, one year before his death, called Fr. Andrew Strobel, a German, to Delhi, to take over charge of the Delhi Astronomical Observatory (Cf. Hosten, o. c., p. 39). The same Emperor, at the request of Dona Juliana Dias da Costa, again renewed the privileges granted to the Fathers by Aurangzeb and confirmed by Bahādur Shah and Farrukhsiyar (Felix, o. c., pp. 33-34).

The last two Jesuits living at the Mughal Court were Frs. Joseph Tieffentaller and Francis Xavier Wendel. Both died in the beginning of the XIXth century. The latter, it is said, obtained at least five farmāns from the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II (Cf. Noti, *Joseph Tieffentaller*, S. J., p. 32, note); but Fr. Felix has published only two farmāns addressed to this Father (Felix, o.c., pp. 46-48.)

3. *Has any History of the Bombay Army ever been published? If so by whom?*

We do not know of any *History of the Bombay Army*. There are nevertheless several books affording useful information about the Bombay Army or some of its actions. The following books may be consulted with profit:—

Douglas, *Glimpses of old Bombay and Western India with other Papers*.

Douglas, *Bombay and Western India. A Series of Stray Papers*. (2 Vols.)

Rivett-Carnac, *The Presidential Armies of India*.

Simcox, *A Memoir of the Khandesh Bhil Corps, 1825-1891*.

O'Donnell, *Historical Records of the 14th Regiment*.

Other works will be more interesting as containing a great number of documents referring to the Bombay Army. The main ones are these:—

*Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State, Papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat . . . Edited by George W. Forrest, B. A. (Maratha Series and Home Series 3 Vols.)*

*Bengal, also Fort St. George and Bombay Papers, presented to the House of Commons, Pursuant to their Orders of the 7th of May last, from The East India Company, relative to the Marhatta War in 1803. Printed by Order of the House of Commons. 5th and 22nd June, 1804. (A very rare and valuable volume).*

But the future historian of the Bombay Army is to spend many days and even months searching in the Bombay Record Office, where most of the documents dealing with such an absorbing subject are still awaiting publication.

4. *Kindly let me know if there are any references to Śrī Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagara in Portuguese Records besides those mentioned by Sewell's Forgotten Empire. I am also anxious to know the name of the daughter of the king of Orissa given in marriage to the same Emperor.*

All the early Portuguese chronicles speak of the relations between Portugal and Vijayanagara, whose sovereign at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese happened to be Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. Consequently the following works may be consulted:—

*Cortesão, A Expedicao de Pedro Alvares Cabral e o Descobrimento do Brazil (Lisboa, 1922).*

*Castanheda, Historia do Descobrimento and Conquistas da India pelos Portugueses (Coimbra 1924).*

*Commentarios do Grande Affonso Dalboquerque Capitao Geral que foi das Indias Orientaes em tempo do muito poderoso Rey D. Manuel o primeiro deste nome (Lisboa 1774).*

*Costa, Historia das relacoes Diplomaticas de Portugal no Oriente (Lisboa, 1895).*

*Faria y Sousa, Asia Portuguesa (3 Vols.).*

The information afforded by all these sources was published by Fr. H. Heras in an article entitled: *Early Relations between Vijayanagara and Portugal* (Q. J. M. S., XVI, pp. 63-74).

As regards the name of the daughter of the Orissa king, who married Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya, there are several Sanskrit or Telugu poems, that refer to the marriage, but they do not give the name of the bride. Such are, for instance, the *Krishṇa Rāya Vijayam*, the *Prabodha Chandrodaya Vyākhyā*, the *Tamil Nāvalar Charita*, etc. Only the *Rāyavāchacamu* mentions her as named Jaganmohini (S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 116). There are nevertheless four verses popularly attributed to her in which she is called Tukka. (Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 116, note).

5. *In an inscription at Sangamēśvar, Ratnagiri District, I meet with the name of the Chalukya King Karṇadēva. The temple of Ambabai at Kolhapur was built in his reign. I request you to let me know at your earliest convenience who this Karṇadēva was, what was his period, and what was his relationship with the early or with the later Chalukyas.*

We cannot give more information about the Chalukya King Karṇadēva than the one given in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, II, pp. 270-271, where the inscription of the Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur is being published. He undoubtedly is a later Chalukya, but the state of research does not allow us to make any suggestions as to the place to be allotted to him in the pedigree of the Chalukya family. A grand-son of Karṇadēva, named Sōmadēva, was, according to the inscription, married to a lady called Manikyādēvī. A Queen of Chakra-kōta with the same name is mentioned in one of the inscriptions of the Hoysala King Vishnuvardhana (XIIth century). (Cf. *E. C.*, V, Bl, 58). If these two ladies are to be identified, then Karṇadēva perhaps belongs to the Eastern Chalukyas, as Chakra-kōta is one of the possessions of the Eastern Chalukyas. Nevertheless, it is also possible that Manikyādēvī "of the Chakra-kōta throne" could have married a Western Chalukya. Anyhow, if we identify these two ladies, we shall be bound to assign a date towards the close of the XIth century

to King Karṇadēva, whose inscriptions seem to be undated. This perhaps will be too early a date. Mr. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 467 (2nd ed.), places him among some Chalukyas of later times. We do not know whether he has any reasons to place him so late. You may perhaps decide this point on palaeographical grounds.

6. *I understand that Ferishta has recorded somewhere that the kings of Ānegundi were powerful and continued in uninterrupted possession of their territories for 700 years before the advent of the Muhammadans in India. This may mean the 1st century A. D., or at east the VIth century A. D., if we take into consideration their advent into Southern India from the North. It is also stated that Nanda Mahārāja from Northern India ruled the country about Ānegundi for 63 years from Śaka 936-998. Hence:—(1) Did the chiefs of Ānegundi hold possession of the country from at least the middle of the IVth century A. D.; if not, what is the earliest date to which we can trace their history? (2) Whose feudatories were they (successively till the rise of the Hoysaḷas or the foundation of Vijayanāgara)? (3) Is there any evidence to show that they and their suzerains had undertaken any invasion of Kēraḷa or of any part of it? (4) Had any of these early Ānegundi chiefs the name of Kṛishṇa Rāya? I may say the information is partly required to see if there is any truth in the alleged expedition of Kṛishṇa Rāyar of Ānegundi into Kēraḷa between 345 and 497 A. D.*

We do not remember of any reference made by Ferishta to the ancient kings of Ānegundi. But there is no doubt that the town of Ānegundi, called also Hastināvatī and Kuñ-jarakōṇa-puri, had been the capital of a kingdom in ancient days. In an inscription of 1379-80 we hear of "the District of Gadag, which is also called the wealthy Kratupura, situated in the middle of the country of Śrī Toragal, which is in the kingdom of Hastināvatī" (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 377). Similarly many inscriptions of the Vijayanagara rulers speak of "the kingdom of Hastināvatī", or "of Hampe-Hastināvatī", or "of Ānegondi".

The sovereigns of this kingdom of Ānegundi are not

known. According to the *Rāya Vamśāvali*, a Telugu work in the possession of the Rāja of Ānegundi, the first king of Ānegundi was Nanda Mahārāja, whose rule commenced in 1014 A. D. This date corresponds to Śaka 936, given as the initial year of Nanda's reign in the above query. Ten kings of Ānegundi are given in the *Rāya Vamśāvali* till the foundation of the Saṅgama Dynasty of Vijayanagara. But this *Vamśāvali* is so confused with accounts about other more or less contemporary families, for instance about the Chalukyas, the Kalachurrys and the Hoysalas, that there can be no doubt about its concoction. (Cf. Suryanarain Row, *The Never To Be Forgotten Empire*, pp. 11, 12 and i).

Mr. Sewell, *Lists of Antiquarian Remains*, I, p. 123, speaks of another king named Kapa Mahārāja "who preceded the Vijayanagara kings". This king however is found neither in the above *Vamśāvali* nor in any of the published inscriptions. There is another king named Bodayya Rāja, also mentioned by Sewell, *o. c.*, p. 106. He is said to have been ruling in A. D. 1199 when the great gopuram of the first prākāra of the Hampi temple was built. Yet we do not know of any record mentioning this king. He cannot be the one called Bodha Mahādēva, who was on the throne of Durga in 1371 "at the time that Bukka Rāja was ruling the kingdom of the world in peace and wisdom". (*E. C.*, VI, Mg, 87).

Three inscriptions of the Shikarpur Taluka speak of one Emperor Janamējaya, who "was in Hastināpura, ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom". (*E. C.*, VII, 12, 45, 86). Everything seems genuine in these three inscriptions but for the date: it corresponds to 3102 B. C. in the three records. Mr. Rice calculates the date as 1192 A. D., and is of opinion that they are a much later fabrication, framed on an inscription of Vira Nolamba of the Nolamba Dynasty. (Cf. *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 142; and Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 58, note 2).

There is moreover a series of grants, that are not genuine, of several of the well known kings of Vijayanagara, dated one or two centuries before their existence, as if pre-

tending to spread the belief that the ancient kings of Ane-  
gundi were of the same family as the kings of Vijayanagara.  
(Cf. Sewell, o. c., pp. 117, 118 and 122; E. C., I, Gg, 59).

There are only two genuine inscriptions that mention  
one of the ancient kings of Ane-gundi. These are two in-  
scriptions of Bukka I dated 1355 and 1356, which speak of  
Hosapaṭṭana (Vijayanagara) as "the capital of Nijagali Kaṭaka  
Rāya" (Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 2 and 4). Evidently  
this king was a well known person in the time of Bukka,  
perhaps the most famous king of the kingdom of Hastināvati.  
Hence:—

(1) At the present state of research we cannot assign  
any date to the foundation of the kingdom of Hastināvati,  
though we may affirm that the IVth century seems to be too  
early a date. The XIth century seems more probable; that  
was the time when several feudatory dynasties sprang up  
under the Chalukya domination.

(2) Accordingly they most likely were feudatories per-  
haps of the Rashtrakutas, and then of the Western Chalukyas;  
the dynasty was perhaps extinct after the Hoysala conquest.

(3) There is no record mentioning any attempt of the  
Ane-gundi kings to conquer Kēraḷa. Only the above mention-  
ed spurious epigraphs of Janamējaya refer to "an expedi-  
tion of victory to the South." The reference nevertheless is  
too vague, as befits a concocted document. There is never-  
theless a Chalukya king, named Vikrama, who, according to  
a Malayalam work entitled *Konganpala*, towards the end  
of the IXth century seems to have invaded Cochin. But he  
was repulsed and killed.

(4) An inscription of the year 1354 refers to a grant  
made by Vijaya Bukka Rāya, Narasa Rāya and Śrī Kṛishṇa  
Rāya together (Sewell, o. c., p. 122), apparently all rulers of  
Ane-gundi; but the inscription is not genuine. Besides this,  
we do not know of any ruler of Ane-gundi with the name of  
Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya.

Consequently the alleged expedition of Kṛishṇa Rāyar  
of Ane-gundi into Kēraḷa towards the close of the IVth century  
or first years of the Vth century seems to be a myth.

# Monumenta Historiae Indiae

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## Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia

### IV

*Dagh-Register | gehouden int | Casteel Batavia | vant  
pesserende daer ter plaetse als over geheel | Nederlandts  
-India | Anno 1636. | Uitgegeven door het Departement  
van Koloniën onder toezicht | van | Dr. H. T. Colenbrander, |  
Adjunct-Archivaris bij's Rijks Archief te 's-Gravenhage. |  
's-Gravenhage | Martinus Nijhoff | 1899.*

#### [The Governor of Gujarat at the Mughal Court]

[50] Mijrmousa, who still remained governor of Cambaija, Brootchha, Balsaar, and Ourpaar, had travelled via Cambaija and Amadabath to Agra. Several people were of opinion that the said Mijrmousa, on account of his big present and his eloquent flattering tongue, would induce the king in a short time to give him a commission to resume the government mentioned.

The said Mijrmousa had taken leave of our people very pleased and satisfied and promised to inform the king properly about the conditions of the Company and to favour us in everything. And if we were molested somehow during his visit to the King, we should give him advice and he would do his best in the matter.

#### [Wars of the Mughal Emperor]

The great Mogol who had proceeded with a mighty army against the rebellious raadja S'Jougeras had put him to flight and chased him completely from the country.

The said Mogol further intended to make war with [the] Decan to bring this country under his obedience and had left with his army for Barampour.



### **[Mughal Regulations for Foreign Merchants at Surat]**

[113] His Majesty does not wish, and specially forbids, that the residents or chiefs residing in Suratte, on behalf of the Dutch or English Company, go to their ships from Suratte to Suhaliĳ to do their business, but that the Commanders of the ships come to Suratte and arrange there the business they have got to do. Further that each of them must always keep 12 lacks or 12,00,000 rupees worth of goods or cash as security, and further that none of the two Companies will hereafter be allowed to go up the river of Suratte to bring their goods up and down the river, but that they must come with their goods in the bay of Suhaliĳ, and may not use small yachts and frigates in the waterway, etc.

### **[Mughal Farmans for Dutch and English Merchants]**

About the first firman regarding the monopoly of indigo our uppermerchant and the English president were quite satisfied but about the second firman they were very displeased. However the governor who is much more inclined to do a favour to us than to the English, and is much more polite than the previous governor Mijrmousa afterwards told Baerent Pietersen that the said firman did not regard us, but only the English, because they were navigating in the Portuguese places with their small yachts (which they had had specially built for the purpose in Daman), and that their intention was to go up the rivers Brootchā and Cambaiĳa, discharge their goods on the banks of the river and go free from duties and toll wherever they could.

### **[Wars of the Mughal Emperor]**

In Suratte they had received advice from Agra that His Majesty had not only put to flight the [114] rebellious Radja Jougeras and had defeated him, but had also got hold of his head, so that not less than 14.000 villages which had resorted under the said Radja had fallen into the hands of His Majesty. Further that he had proceeded with a mighty army from Agra to Doltabath, where he still stayed. There was no certainty yet what the object was, but there were rumours that the king had already taken possession of the countries

of the kings of Golconda and Vissapour without striking a blow and had sent his governors there as viceroys and had given the said kings a pension.

### **[Fall of the ex-Governor of Gujarat]**

To the ex-governor of Surat Mijrmousa things are going very badly with the King. He had dismissed most of his horsemen and servants, especially as the King had deprived him of his income and worries him much about the arrears of his seven years lease of Suratte, so that it is not likely that he will return to be governor of Suratte.

### **[Dutch Present sent to the Emperor of Vijayanagara]**

[124] Having been requested continuously by the king of Carnatica, by letter as well as verbally through his ambassador, to send him a present, as this had not yet been given during his reign, [125] governor Carel Reijniersen could no longer excuse or delay it, but after consulting his Council agreed to send a polite letter to him and the following present in order to gain more and more his favour on behalf of the Company.

### **[Rivalry between Portuguese and Dutch]**

[250] The six Portuguese galleons and many frigates, which had escorted (in March last) the old viceroy from Goa on his way to Portugal with "2 craecks" (?), had probably understood the intentions of the said Barent Pietersen and had waited for our ships coming from Persia in front of the Danou harbour, but not seeing them there and strongly convinced that they would spend the winter in Gamron, they had decided to watch them in front of Suratte towards the months of September or October of this year. Give God that they meet the fleet of Commander Cooper.

From Danou the said galleons (together having 230 big guns and 1700 men amongst which many were ill) went to Bombaij, in order to spend the winter there and to watch the movements, of the Mogol. They were afraid that he might attack their fortresses in Bassijn and Chaul, because

he kept a big army in those districts and they were also afraid that we might make an alliance with the Mogol.

### **[Mughal Wars against Bijapur and Golkonda]**

The Mogol still stays in Doltabath and has three armies in the field, viz. two sent to Visiapore to attack that state from two sides and bring it to his obedience, and another army sent to the Deccan to make his youngest son (whom he has made governor there) take possession of that country. The King of Golconda has willingly submitted to the Mogol giving a big present, and remains in his kingdom. The king of Visiapore has also offered this, but Sja Jean would not accept any reasonable conditions and detained the Visiapore ambassador. In the meantime the king of Visiapore had also come into the field with a mighty army, had put to flight one of the Mogol's armies, killed many and had taken 6 or 7 Mogol leaders as prisoners to Visiapour.

### **[Difficulties of the Dutch in the kingdom of Golkonda]**

[264] The merchant Claes Cornelissen, who had been put in charge of the property and management of the affairs of the Company, there went to him and pleaded to [265] have these people released, but he was treated very unreasonably by him. The governor said that we and the ambassadors of the Mogol and of the Persian kings, who did their business there as they liked and who brought him little revenue, were the cause that he could not pay his lease, and that he therefore intended to treat us in such a way that we would do no longer business in that country. The 3000 pagodes which we paid to the king was too little compared with the volume of the trade. He could obtain more from other merchants, who would not fail to come when we were gone. Claes Cornelissen replied that under the safe-conduct of His Majesty, provided we paid the said 3000 pagodes, we were allowed to do business without having to suffer any inconvenience from anybody; but the said governor could not be persuaded and proceeded that he would give a safe-conduct to the Portuguese instead of to us and that he would pay

himself the toll which His Majesty would lose on account of this, etc. . . .

Having returned to Masulipatnam he ordered our merchants on the 24th August to come to the bancksaël (bankrum) to hear a certain firman which he pretended to have received from Golconda, but our people did not appear giving as excuse the outrages in Petapoulij. They were advised to do so by some of our devoted friends. They afterwards heard that the said governor had the intention to bring one of our people to Golconda and to accuse him there of many false charges. For on the night after he sent his people to our building, he had written false charges to his patron depicting our people [as criminals]; and to make his charges more acceptable he had also sent to [266] Golconda a cloth dipped in goatsblood (which he had specially killed for the purpose), and has added a letter that this was the way the king's people were treated by the Dutch. But after 6 days when our merchants appeared in the bancksaël the said Governor said that he would detain the firman (which he had made himself) and that the King wanted refund of the Portuguese vessel, which our people had captured last April in front of Narsepour with 400,000 pagodes gold. To confirm this he brought a few persons as witnesses. The governor knew quite well that the said vessel was a bad tony carrying nothing else than water and firewood, which our people had captured in front of Narsepour because it attacked the kings vessels under Dutch flag; and moreover because they were Portuguese who had fled from Negepatnam and intended to join the rebels in Bengal, and to attack on the way whatever they could get hold of. The moors had appreciated our action at that time, and he knew (as he admitted to have written to the King) that the whole affair had cost us more than what we had gained by it. However because (as he said) we had been accused at the court by some friends who envied us, and who had given a wrong account of the affair in order to hide the truth, he asked us whether we could not show some people of the captured vessel, who could tell the truth. Although this was known well enough,

our people wanted to give him satisfaction and sent some people to Narsepour with one of his servants, and when some Portuguese rowers of the said vessels were brought up to him, they were asked nothing, but our people were sent home in freedom. Then our merchants saw that, it had only been a strategem to make us afraid, so that we could not complain at the court about the outrages in Petapoulij and hurriedly they sent letters of complaint to Golconda in five different covers with 4 addresses, *viz.* to the king, to the ambassadors of the Mogol and of the Persian king and to 2 other nobles at the Court of Golconda. Although the governor had had the roads occupied everywhere, our letters of complaint had partially reached their destination. The result was that the Persian ambassador and a certain Alij Rasa (whom we had written in full what had happened) took so much interest in our case, that complaints were lodged with the Secretary of State. They threatened that if he did not investigate the matter and give us satisfaction they [267] would complain even to the king. . . .

After all the said exasperation, outrages and bad practice of the Moorish governor Mirmameth Sahij (to get us down), which we had already suffered and which he had still in store for us, the false friends, the English, did not fail to incite him against us even more. Our people were told for true that two days before the governor had come from Petapoulij, the English had visited him and talking about what had happened, they had said that the Dutch were people who were not content before they were masters of everything. As an example they told him that we had built in Paleacatta a fortress strong enough to resist an attack by the King of Carnatica. They further told him that we now wanted the ruin of Bantam, where we had done a profitable business for years and had enjoyed the favour of the king. Moreover they mentioned Batavia, Banda etc. and told him that we would not rest before we had made also Masulipatnam strong and had submitted everybody. He would have to stop this in time and prevent our efforts by obstructing our trade. And if the governor succeeded in driving us out

from there, they offered him to bring the Portuguese there which would make the countries of both their nations flourish much more than ever before.

**[Relations between the Dutch and the Emperor  
of Vijayanagara]**

[270] The Portuguese papist as Agent with the King of Carnatica in Velour is still trying to induce His Majesty to conquer our fortress at Paleacatta, and tells him that the new-governor will soon arrive in St. Thome with a strong armada and the promised presents, cash, etc. The English had written to the said papist in reply to his letter that they would grant the assistance asked for (which they had to do and to which they had bound themselves) if only they could induce the king to it. His Majesty had only given the papist and his allies promises (just as they had given him), and he informed our governor at Paleacatta verbally that he could be assured of him and could trust him, that this would never happen, because he knew us too well. He had only done it just to see what would become of the Portuguese present which they had promised for years and of their boasting. He said that we could do our business freely and need not be afraid of anybody.

**[Rivalry between Portuguese and Dutch]**

[273] The said merchants while coming from Goa had also called at Bombaij and had seen the 6 Portuguese galleons there and they had heard from the Portuguese that they intended to await our ships in the early season in front of Surat and that they had stationed 800 soldiers from the galleons in the fortresses of Bassijn, Chaul and in the neighbouring villages out of fear for the Mogol, of whose approaching army nothing was heard however.

**[War between the Mughal Emperor and Bijapur]**

The great Mogol still stays in Doltabat and there are persistent rumours that he has made a contract with the King of Visiapour, whereby the latter would pay him

50,00,000 ropias in gold and jewels, but this has not been confirmed.

### [Fall of the ex-Governor of Gujarat]

The ex-Governor of Suratte Mijrmousa is also staying with His Majesty and has no other revenue than the Governorship of Cambaija on lease. The King sent two delegates to Suratte some time ago, to satisfy the present Governor Hackim and the surrounding villages, which are much displeased about him, and also to make inquiries regarding Mijrmousa. After finishing their investigation they had returned to the Court and different suits amounting to 6 or 700,000 ropias had been [274] filed against Mijrmousa, being money which he had extorted from the Moors. But many are of opinion that he will help himself through this and will again become Governor of Suratte; so much more because Hackim had a deficit last year of 500,000 mamodij on his budget (so people say), and this year the deficit will not be less and he will probably find means to raise this sum. The surrounding country people do not only complain very much about his intollerable extortions of tributes but many have left the country on account of his Persian obstinacy, so that the countries remain uncultivated, which will not tend to increase his revenues. The Governor of Amadabat Saijffchan, who had behaved badly in extorting some money from our people, had been summoned to the Court to account for these outrages and another governor was on the way to take his place. . . .

### [Prospective Dutch trade in Bengal]\*

In order to obtain firmer and more efficient firmans from His Majesty the great Mogol to carry on a free trade in Bengala, the said Barent Pietersen had induced Governor Hackim and several other nobles of Suratte to write on our behalf to His Majesty and to their friends at the Court, so that he had no doubt about it, that he would obtain what he had asked for. However he remains of opinion that such and other requests to His Majesty and the

nobles ought to be made by a delegate of high rank and ought to be accompanied by a present of some [275] elephants, porcelain pots with preserved radix, China etc., and that such would have a wonderful effect.

## V

*Dagh-Register | gehouden int | Casteel Batavia | vant passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India | Anno 1659. | Uitgegeven Door het Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, met | medewerking van de Nederlandsch-Indische Regeering en onder toezicht | van Mr. J. A. Van der Chijs. | Batavia | Landsdrukkerij | 's Hage | M. Nijhoff | 1889.*

### [Dutch Expedition to Kanara]

[150] The other instructions and other papers for the fleet, filled out for the Indian coast under commander Root-haes, were quite ready and also the papers, addressed to his Excellency to the chief in Wingurla, as well as a letter to the new King of Golkonda; likewise letter to Sive and Ven-tapaneyck and to the famous merchant Malappa in the kingdom of Canara; and the above mentioned fleet was ready to start on her journey in the name of the Lord. In the morning the Governor General and the Councillors of India Aernold de Flamingh from Outrhoorn and Pieter Sterthemius and the Secretary of His Excellency were brought per ship to the Commander's ship the "Dolphyn", where at once the white flag was lowered and a shot was fired to make the officers of the leaving fleet come to the said ship. When they had all appeared, the commander Adriaen Roothaes was introduced by His Excellency as commander to the other officers and ordinary sailors and was given due authority.



# Reviews

THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE. By K. R. Subramanian, M. A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram... With a foreword by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, Avl., M. A., L. T., Reader in Indian History, University of Madras. Published by the Author. 60, T. S. V. Koil Street Mylapore, Madras, 1928. ( $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ , VII, 107 pp.)

This booklet is a praiseworthy attempt at writing the modern history of Tanjore. The subject had not been touched since the days of Hickey; and the author is to be congratulated on his achievement. He has made use of all the sources available to him, including "the long Marathi inscription in the big temple at Tanjore", which "has not been translated as yet". It is to be regretted that the Jesuit sources should not have reached his hands: only thrice, in pages 11, 28 and 36, does he refer to Jesuit documents. At least in the first case the author has not seen the document, as he cites: P. 279 Nayaks of Madura; a reference which should be given as follows: Sathyanatha Aiyar, *History of the Nayaks of Madura*, p. 279. The Jesuit sources for the Maratha History of Tanjore are very numerous; and the information supplied by them is so important that it would fill up another volume of the size of the one we are now reviewing. Many of these sources have been published, for instance:

*Lettres edifiantes et curieuses ecrites des missions Etrangeres par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. Paris, 1713-1716 (26 Vols.).*

*La Mission du Madure d'apres des documents inedits par le P. J. Bertrand, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire du Madure. Paris, 1847-1848 (4 Vols.).*

*Defensio Indicarvm Missionvm Madurensis, nempe, Masurensis & Carnatensis, edita, occasione Decreti Ab Ill<sup>mo</sup> D. Patriarcha Antiocheno D. Carolo Millard de Tournon Visitatore Apostolico in Indiis Orientalibus lati; & suscepta a Francisco Lainez e Societate Jesu, Electo Episcopo Meliapo-*

*rensi. Romae, Ex Typographia Reverendae Camerae Apoitolicae (sic). MDCCVII. Superiorum permissu.*

Besides the printed documents there is a considerable number of unpublished letters written by different Jesuits residing at the Court of Tanjore, which ought to be consulted by the historians of the Maratha Rajas.

Except for the Jesuit sources, Prof. Subramanian has consulted all the documents available both Indian and British. The critical study of the documents is sometimes wanting and this occasionally leads to worse confusion when there is already confusion in the historical period narrated, for instance in chapter VI (pp. 43-46). Chapters XI to XIII dealing with internal history are very ably written.

The mode of referring to the sources is to be methodically improved. The historian cannot now-a-days make a statement without proof. This proof is the reference to the document from which the information has been derived. Yet the book under review has several statements without such proof (Cf. pp.1-9, 13-14, 20-23, 56-57, 60-61, 63, 67-73, 86-89). Occasionally the references are not fully given: thus, for instance:—

The Madras mss. (p. 42).

See Tanjore district manual (Ibid).

Papers relating to the Restoration of the Raja of Tanj. vol. 3 (p. 55).

Pearson: Men. of Schwartz Vol. 2 (p. 81).

The critical reader vainly looks for the page or pages to be referred to in such foot-notes.

Besides there is no uniformity at all in the way of referring to the sources of information:—

(1) Five different ways of punctuation between the name of author and the title of book:—

Anandarangam Pillai: Diary Vol. 6 p. 314-315 (p. 7).

See Oxford History of India by Mr. V. A. Smith p. 297 (p. 12).

Hultsch's Report on Skt. mss. Vol. 3 (p. 40).

Hultsch—Rep. on Skt. Mss. No. 3 (p. 41).

Anandarangam Diary: I, Ch. 4, 13 (p. 46).

(2) Titles of books are often not referred to in the same way. Here there are a few cases taken from the same page, where such lack of uniformity is more evident:—

- (p. 50) { Ft. St. George, Country Corresp. 1740 p. 9.  
Ft. St. George, Country Correspondence 1749  
April, p. 14.
- (p. 55) { Papers relating to the Restoration of the Raja of  
Tanj. vol. 3.  
Papers relating to the Rest. Raja of Tanjore  
Vol. 3.
- (p. 64) { Pearson: Mem. of Sch. Vol. 2, p. 23.  
Pearson: Mem. of Schwartz Vol. I.

(3) Titles of books and names of authors are often changed without any respect to the original. (Moreover the author is to be reminded of the English custom of using capitals in the titles). Some instances are quoted below:—

Wrong Reference	Real Title and Author's name
Dr. S. K. Iyengar: Sources of Vijayanagar History (p. 7).	S. K. Aiyangar, Sources of Vijayanagara History.
Anandarangam Pillai: Diary Vol. 6, p, 314-315 (p. 7).	Ananda Ranga Pillai, The Diary, VI, pp. 314-315.
Tanjore district gazetteer P. 35-53 (p. 14).	Tanjore District Gazetteer, pp. 35-53.
Mr. Sathyanadhan: The Nayaks of Madura, Introd. Ch. I, and 10-14 (p. 15).	Sathyanatha Aiyar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, Introd., and chapters I and X-XIV.
Rev. Heras: The Aravidu dynasty ch, 8, 13, 17 & 19 (p. 15).	Heras, The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, I, chapters VIII, XIII, XVII and XIX.
Manucci 1653-1708: Storio Do Mogor Vol 3, p. 103 (p. 15).	Manucci, Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708, III, p. 103.
Rangachari's Ins. of the Madras Pres. II, Tanj. Dt. (p. 17).	Rangacharya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, II, Tanjore Dt.

Malleson: The rise of the Malleson, The Rise of the  
French power in India Ch. French Power in India, ch.  
3 (p. 46). III.

Hamilton's new account of Hamilton, New Account of the  
the Indies I, p. 348-353 (p. East Indies, I, pp. 348-353.  
93). etc.

(4) Usually the page or pages of the books referred to are given after the title of the book; but on some occasions they are given before (pp. 11, note 3; 16, note 2; 19, note 1). The pages are generally referred to by a single small p.; though sometimes this letter is a capital P. (pp. 11, 18, 19, 31, 46, 51, 52, 59, 62, 75).

These are very small details, indeed, but in a scholarly work there is no small detail to be overlooked. Accuracy and uniformity in such small details denote the scholar.

Finally I may mention that while the first two chapters do not seem to be necessary, a pedigree of the Maratha Royal Family is badly needed.

H. Heras, S. J.

RATTAŚĀSANAPADYAGUCHHAVU. By Prof. K. G. Kundanagar, M.A. Rajaram College, Kolhapur. Printed and published by Devendra Phadippa Chaugule at the Shri Mahavira Press, Belgaum. ( $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. 28 pp.) [In Kanarese].

Prof. K. G. Kundanagar has already distinguished himself by publishing a learned brochure on the Shri-Mahalakshmi temple at Kolhapur. He now comes forward with an equally valuable contribution—the poetical extracts from the Ratta inscriptions. This small booklet will, we may confidently affirm, be of interest to all lovers of the Kannada language. These literary extracts are from the inscriptions existing in Northern Karnataka; and as such the book may be said to form a useful companion to the *Karnataka Kavi Charite* and the *Sasana Padya Manjari*, published by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, the materials for which were mostly gathered from inscriptions found in the Mysore State. Karnataka is a vast country full of lithic documents, which often contain ex-

quisite pieces of poetry. Consequently, it is well nigh impossible for any single scholar interested in this kind of work to confine his efforts to more than one particular part of this vast country. Hence we have all the more reason to congratulate Prof. Kundanagar on his having stepped into a field of research, where indeed the harvest is great, and the labourers few.

The book makes interesting reading. In the foreword which runs over seven pages, the author explains the maxims that a poet is a maker, a pursuer of truth and a coiner of words. Next he applies these maxims to the verses included in the book under reference. That the foreword covers seven pages needs no apology from the author, since his remarks are calculated to help the general reader in appreciating the beauty of the pieces of poetry that follow.

The materials for the present work were derived from the inscriptions at Saundatti, Kalhole Nesaragi, and Koṇṇur. It is to be hoped that this leaflet will be the first of a series of similar books to be compiled from the inscriptions in Northern Karanataka.

G. M. Moraes.

**ASOKA** (Gackwad Lectures). By Radhakumud Mookerji, M. A., Ph. D., Itihāsa-Śiromaṇi, Professor and Head of the Department of Indian History, Lucknow University. Macmillan & Co., Limited. St. Martin's Street, London, 1928 (8 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ , XVI, 273 pp.)

This work of Prof. Mukerji, to use his own words "has no pretensions to originality, except in the matter of some points in Aśokan chronology and of certain passages in the Edicts" (p. XI). Nevertheless the book is extremely valuable, as it contains all the information one may gather about Aśoka, after the study of contemporary sources and of almost all modern literature, nicely divided and attractively presented to the reader. Moreover, Prof. Mukerji, we must say, is very lucky in finding good publishers for his books. The get-up of this, for instance, is excellent: the beautiful photographs of the Aśokan monuments are superb and

some of them are original and not often seen. In a word Prof. Mukerji's work may be styled an *Aśokan Encyclopedia*.

Yet it is a pity that in such a work several defects in method should have crept in. For instance, there is no bibliography at all, a thing that would be valuable in itself. Thus one does not know whether the author has seen all the literature about Aśoka. I have, for instance, failed to see the name of Macphail, whose book on *Aśoka*, though not of great scholarly value, has nevertheless reached the second edition.

There is moreover some lack of external and internal criticism all throughout the work. In this sense we called this book an *Aśokan Encyclopedia*, inasmuch as it consists of a mere compilation of facts, statements (sometimes contradictory) and opinions, not knowing finally what the author's opinion is. Thus, for instance, in page 2 the author tells us that "the mother of Aśoka in the northern tradition is Subhadrāṅgī"; while in page 3 he informs us that "in the southern tradition she is called Dharmā". It would therefore be necessary that both statements should be separately studied, that the authority of both traditions should be critically compared, that their origin should be traced; and only then the author would be able to tell us whether Aśoka's mother was named Subhadrāṅgī or Dharmā. This remark holds good about written contemporary documents as well as about oral tradition.

Another instance of this lack of critical method is to be found when the author speaks of the stūpas built by Aśoka (Cf. pp. 15 and 83). Prof. Mukerji accepts the statements of the Chinese pilgrims without any further examination. Rightly Professor Thomas makes the following remark about this point in *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 501: "When the Chinese pilgrims refer, as they constantly do, 'to a stūpa of Aśoka', we cannot in strictness understand anything more than one of archaic style".

In connection with the same want of method, it is to be mentioned that there seems to be no uniformity in the way of referring to the sources. Many references are found in

the text itself, a thing that disturbs the reader. Had all the references been given in the foot-notes, the book would have been much improved. Moreover one finds here and there some references not given in full, *i. e.*, without page referred to. (Cf. for instance, pp. 41, 49, 105).

As for the opinions of Prof. Mukerji, one welcomes his statement that the religion Aśoka sought to present to his people "was not to be identified with any of the then prevailing faiths of the country" (p. 68). And in order to be more precise, he boldly adds: "It was certainly not Buddhism" (*Ibid.*). Thus the legend of Aśoka as the missionary of Buddhism is finished for ever. After a careful examination of Aśoka's edicts we had made the following statement elsewhere, two years ago: "The Dharma preached by Aśoka was not the Buddhist one, but a general Dharma common to all religions, though based upon Hinduism and influenced by Jainism" (*Q. J. M. S.*, XVII, p. 272).

Yet we are very sorry to disagree with Prof. Mukerji in the point of Aśoka's own religion. Without any examination of the opinions of Aśoka's Jain or Hindu faith, he states that "his personal religion may be taken to be Buddhism" (p. 60). This has always been the position of all the defenders of Aśoka's Buddhism. His faith in Buddha is taken for granted; for no contemporary document clearly proves such a fact, and the documents that clearly refer to it are written several centuries after, and consequently not reliable. And, indeed, if the contemporary documents prove anything as regards this point, it is the non-Buddhist faith of Aśoka. Prof. Mukerji himself does not know how to explain the fact that Aśoka instituted processions with images of the gods. "The images of the gods carried in the procession" says he, "need not refer to Brahminical gods only. They might be of Buddhist gods as well". (p. 25)<sup>1</sup>. But he adds a few lines after: "It is extremely doubtful if he had included figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas in the procession"

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<sup>1</sup> There is no uniformity in the spelling of the word Brahmanical: sometimes it is Brahmanical (p. 75) and sometimes Brahminical (p. 25).

(Ibid.). This doubt of the learned Professor is well founded: image-worship among the Buddhists was unknown in Aśoka's days. A long stretch of time had to elapse before the development of the Mahāyāna school, that fostered idolatry among the Buddhists. In fact, the beautiful carvings of the toranas at Sanchi, which according to the modern archaeologists were built during the Andhra period, 1st century A. D., do never show any image of Buddha as yet. Cf. Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 13. The passage of Fa-hien referring to a car procession, quoted by Prof. Mukerji (Ibid.), belongs to a much later period and cannot be the continuation of Aśoka's shows, though it may perhaps be supposed to be a later development.

H. Heras, S. J.

THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND By K. R. Subramanian, M. A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram. Printed at the Diocesan Press, Madras, 1929. (9½ × 6½, 82 pp.)

This brochure attempts to trace the origin of Śaivism and its spread in the Tamil land. It is issued as a supplement to the Madras University Journal. While speaking of the Ālupas or Āluvas, the author says that their kingdom lay to the North-East of Banavasi (p. 12). But this was not so. No doubt originally the territory of the Ālupas lay on the Ghats. But from the seventh century the Ālupas began to extend their power over the Western Ghats, and spread themselves over Tuḷuva as far as the coast. From Banavasi, in the 7th Century, the Ālupas moved to Humcha (Pombuch-chapura), and then to Udyāvara near the sea, which became the seat of the Ālvakhēḍa Six Thousand till the middle of the 10th century, when due to the activities of the Tamil generals, the Ālupas thought of shifting again to Bārakūr, and thence to Mūḍubidre in the interior.

The author could have referred, while writing about the phallic cult in pp. 23-24, and again in p. 59, to the abhorrence which the Aryans had for the followers of the phallic cult as seen in the *Rig Vēda* (VII, 21, 5; X, 99, 3).



In page 60 the author speaks of the 3000 of Tillai as being the oldest Brahman community in the Tamil land. Then he proceeds to say something about the Dikshitaras. In this connection a mention of another community of Brahmans, who did a great deal to maintain the prestige of the Śaivite religion, could have been made with profit. We are referring to the Sthānikas. In the account of the northern Brahmans given in p. 74 one does not find their name. The Sthānikas have been ignored. True, in the days of the *Arthaśāstra*, the word Sthānika denoted an official. We are told, for instance, that the various officials of a kingdom had their respective duties. "It is the duty of the Gōpa, village accountant, to attend to the accounts of five or ten villages, as ordered by the Collector-General". "Likewise Sthānika, district officer, shall attend to the accounts of one quarter of the kingdom. In those places which are under the jurisdiction of Gōpa and Sthānika, Commissioners (pradshtrāh) specially deputed by the Collector General shall not only inspect the work done and means employed by the village and district officers but also collect the special religious tax known as bali". (Sāmaśastri, *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XXXV, p. 173. Bangalore, 1923.) Then again "managers of charitable institutions", we are further informed in the *Arthaśāstra*, "should send information (to Gōpa or Sthānika) as to any heretics (pāshaṇḍas) and travellers arriving to reside therein". (Sāmaśastri, *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. XXXVI, p. 175.) When we come to the later times, however, we find a class of priests called 'Sthānikaru' practically over the whole of South India. In 1260 A. D. the Brahmans of Halsūr granted land to the Sthānika Sankamayya. (*E. C.*, VI, Tk, 3) In 1301 Hoysaḷa Dēva gave important orders as regards certain temple affairs to the Sthānikas of very many mathas and Nāḍus. (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 51) In 1355 the Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mallinātha granted Chikkapura for god Siddanātha of Bemmattanakallu, and the Brahman who received this grant was Sōmaṇṇa, son of the temple-priest Sthānika Hiriyasiddaṇṇa. (*E. C.*, XI, Cd, 55) The priest of the Sōmayāgi Temple at Posaguṇḍa in 1430 was a Sthānika. In the Tamil land we find

numerous references to the Sthānikas. An undated inscription found on the south gate of Amman temple in the Shankernārāyaṇa Kōyil Tāluk, Tinnevely District, of the times of a king called Vikramadēva Pāṇḍya, records in the sixth year of his reign gifts of land to the Sthānikas of the same temple. (*E. C.*, VII, Sk, 40.) A damaged Chōḷa inscription of the King Tribhuvanamalla Chakravartin Rājendra Chōḷa Dēva III (1246-69) dated in his fourth year, Dhanus, su, di, 3, Thursday, Tiruvōṇam records an enquiry into the affairs of the temple of Tirumāpikka-malai Uḍaiya Nāyinār in Kurrukaināḍu, a subdivision of Rājagambhiravalanāḍu. The committee included the great minister Maṇḍlika Mantri Aḷiya Sōmaiya Daṇḍanāyaka, Sēvayya Daṇḍanāyaka, and Sōmanātha Viṭhaiya who was a servant in the place of Sōmishvaradēva. The Mahēśvaras, Sthānikas, and merchants were also present. (Rangachariya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, III, p. 1525, 131.) During the Vijayanagara times one finds these Brahman priests still in charge of temples over the whole of south India. An inscription of 1503 of Sāluva Immadi Narsinga Rāya Mahārāya, found in the temple of Paṇikēśvarasvāmi in the Kurnool district, records a grant of land by the king to four Sthānikas of the Paṇkēśvara temple for building a village and conducting the services in the temple. (*Ibid.*, II, p. 551, 967.) Three Sthānikas of the temple of Perumāḷ Karyavar in the Alur Tāluka, Salem, in the year 1503 went on a deputation to the Emperor Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya to complain of the injustice done by the authorities (rājagāram) stationed at Dēviyakuruchchi, a village belonging to the temple. The Chief, Amaram Timmarasa, introduced them to the king, got their grievance redressed, presented them with a garland, head dress, a horse, an umbrella, and granted 900 kuḷi of wet land at Pon-narappi, and at Deviyakuruchdri, as Sarvamānya. (*Ibid.*, p. 1206, 42) having received such high honours at the hands of Amaranāyaka Timmarasa, the Sthānikas must have held a proud position among the Brahmans of the south. Muthu Tirumala Nayaka, we are told, while re-constructing the temple of Madura gave a village for the constant support of the

Stanega, or head of the Brahmans, and other persons of the temple. (Taylor, *O. H. MSS.* II., p. 149.) Instances could be multiplied to show how widespread these priests were in the Tamil and Karṇāṭak lands. To possess a powerful hold over almost all the important temples in the south, the Sthānikas must have had qualifications and rights that were the result of hereditary or of acquired power. That they were a superior people can be made out even so early as in 1161 A. D. when the Brahmans of Hariharapura, which is Kellaṅgera, worshipped at the feet of Śivasakti paṇḍita, a Sthānika. (*E. C.*, V, Ak, 117.) These Sthānikas possessed the most sacred Nāga temple on the west Coast, Śubramaṇya, for a very long time. They were orthodox Śaivites, although there is an example of a Jaina poet of 1614 called Panchabāṇa, who calls himself the son of Sthānika Channapayya. (Narasimachar, *Kavicharite*, II, p. 356.)

The author of this pamphlet could have, therefore, done well to include a chapter on this ancient Sect of the Brahmans, explaining the part they played in the spread of Śaivism in the Tamil land.

A word here and there startles the ear with its singularity, *e. g.* "Vedism" (p. 34.).

Not to be uniform as regards the names of authors and the numbering of pages is a defect which the writer shares with most of our Indian authors, *e. g.* in p. 21, the author says in the foot-note: "For periodical evolution of states, see, Jenks, *History of Politics*". Then the exact pages of Risley are given. Then Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, without volume or page. Again in p. 33 for the Vaishnava saints: T. A. Gōpīnātha Rao's "The Āluvars" without the place and year of publication, and without the references to pages. Likewise in the same page, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's *Vaishnavism in South India* without the place and year of publication, and without the references to pages. The author sometimes becomes unduly assertive, and is apt to run into the vein of a pedagogue. While writing about the āgamic worship in p. 58, he says: "It must be borne in mind that āgamic worship was un-Vedic, pre-Vedic, and un-Aryan. It was the result of slow growth and attained all its present features about the seventh or eighth

century. *It is a wrong procedure to take up all its present features and challenge us to prove their existence in ancient times among the un-Aryans. The method is un-historical as a system comes into existence only as a result of long evolution*". (Italics mine). But in spite of all these shortcomings, this little booklet, that has been well-got-up, shows learning and arrangement of matter which give credit to the patience and industry of the author.

B. A. Saletore

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA Volume III, Turks and Afghans. Edited by Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, K. C. I. E., C. S. I., C. M. G., C. B. E., M. A., Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London. Cambridge, At the University Press. 1928. (9 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ , XXXII, 752 pp., LI, pl.)

All lovers and students of Indian History were eagerly expecting this volume of *The Cambridge History of India* and very few, it is to be said, were those who did not suffer a great disappointment when the volume came out of the press. Lt. Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig, Lecturer in Persian in the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, who is the editor of the volume, has practically become the author of the same; for of the 23 chapters the volume contains, only five have been written by other scholars. Now Lt.-Colonel Sir Wolseley Haig is certainly a Persian Scholar, but he is not an historian; and naturally the whole volume shows this great deficiency.

When going through the pages of the history of the Afghan Sultanates one is surprised to find that the researches of Sir Wolseley have not been fruitful at all, as one does not come across anything new in any of those pages. Moreover his history is absolutely one-sided. The only sources of information he has used have been Persian or Arabic chronicles. Only in the case of the history of Kashmir he naturally seems to have used the *Rajatarangini*. One-sided history is always defective and such defects are often detected in Sir Wolseley's pages. For instance, when

speaking of the wars between the Deccani Sultanates and the Empire of Vijayanagara in the time of Burhān Nizam Shah, Hussain Nizam Shah and Ali Adil Shah II, the only sovereign of the Hindu Empire mentioned by Sir Wolseley is Sadāshivarāya. We find him allied with Burhān (pp. 441-442); giving shelter to Ibrahim Qutb Shah (p. 443); mentioned as having a brother named Veṅkaṭādri (p. 444); dealing now with Bijāpur, now with Golkonda (Ibid.); secretly corresponding with Ali Adil Shah against Ibrahim Qutb Shah (p. 443); quarrelling with his guest Hussain Nizam Shah (p. 446); joining the Sultans of Bijāpur, Berar and Bīdar to relieve the fortress of Kaliyāni (Ibid); being arrogant before the Mussulmans (p. 447); marching at the head of his army to meet the five Sultans allied against him (p. 448); being imprisoned and killed on the field at Talikota (p. 449). Now, any reader knowing a little of Vijayanagara history will be shocked at such misinformation; for Sadāshivarāya was always a puppet king, absolutely incapable of carrying out any of those achievements attributed to him by Sir Wolseley. The name Sadāshivarāya is therefore to be substituted by the one of Rāma Rāya, the powerful minister, who was the real ruler of the Empire. Now this gross mistake is only due to the fact that the whole account of these dealings and wars is based only upon the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*. This book speaks always of Rāma Rāya, the real sovereign of Vijayanagara, under the name of the nominal Emperor Sadāśiva Rāya. Only twice Rāma Rāya is called by his own name 'Rama Raj' in this work. (Cf. *I. A.*, L, pp. 7 and 101.) But Sir Wolseley has overlooked these two cases, that could at least produce some doubt about the name of the Vijayanagara ruler. Moreover, even the stone head of Rāma Rāya, he describes after the plate given by Cousens in his monumental work on *Bijāpur*, (p. 9) is for our author Sadāshivarāya's head (p. 450, note 1). And in order to make the whole history uniformly wrong he undoubtedly changed the word Rāma Rāya—which was beyond doubt the word used by Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar when writing the history of Vijayanagara—for the one of Sadāshivarāya (pp. 498 and 499).

Another instance of the one-sided knowledge of our author is found in a few pages before the battle of Talikota (pp. 439 and 440). There several campaigns of one king of Vijayanagara named Venkatarāya are referred to. Now it is quite certain that there was no other king of this name before the battle of Talikota, but the small boy Veṅkaṭāḍri or Veṅkaṭa I, who reigned for a few days only, and who is there also spoken of as "a child of the royal house." (p. 439). This Venkatarāya is said to be the brother of Venkatadri, a great warrior, who defeated Asad Khān Lāri (p. 440). Hence it seems evident that this king Venkatarāya is the same Rāma Rāya, again mentioned under another name, thanks to the information supplied by a Mussulman chronicler and not studied in the light of Vijayanagara history. Many years ago the author made the same confused statements while publishing the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*. Cf. *I. A.*, XLIX, p. 201, note 99.

Besides one is bound to confess that the editor of this volume has not properly divided the subject matter of the same. There is an absolute lack of proportion in devoting to the 'Hindu States in Southern India' one chapter only, out of 23 chapters. The Tuglak Dynasty has two chapters; and three chapters are likewise dedicated to the Bahmani kingdoms of the Deccan. And in the limited space of one chapter of 32 pages there must be included the whole history of five centuries and a half in Southern India. Western Chalukyas, Eastern Chalukyas, Chōlas, Hoysālas, Vijayanagara, and other minor dynasties—either slightly referred to or totally overlooked by the author—are rapidly surveyed in these few pages; when each of these dynasties or Empires would require a separate chapter. One of my post-graduate students has written a history of the Kadambas—one of the dynasties totally overlooked in this chapter—which will be published shortly. The MS. covers nearly 500 pages.

This volume has already been reviewed and criticized in different journals. But a few remarks about the chapter dealing with the Hindu history of Southern India will not be out of place.

It is beyond doubt that the shortness of space at the disposal of Dr. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, the author of this

chapter, was the main cause of the general confusion of facts that continuously disturbs the reader. There is nothing here of that crystal-like style through which the historical succession of facts is to be seen as clearly as on a cinema film. The accumulation of so many events, dates, kingdoms, dynasties and kings in such a short space renders the style obscure and at times absolutely unintelligible.

Yet much of this confusion would have been avoided had the author followed a strict chronological order. Thus at the end of the reign of the great Vikramāditya the division of the Chalukya Empire is mentioned (p. 477). The reader would think that this division was made in the time of that Emperor, when really it existed at least partially in the time of his predecessors. Again during the reign of Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagara, the Muhammadan contingent in the army of Ballāḷa III is referred to (p. 492). Similarly after narrating the usurpation of Sāluva Narasimha one finds a short reference to the Gajapati king contemporary with Virūpāksha (p. 494). In the same way after the account of the mad conduct and suicide of Salakam Tirumalarazu the enthronement of the boy Venkata I seems to take place (p. 498).

This lack of chronological order is the cause of many repetitions that unnecessarily bother the readers. The following are some instances of such repetitions: — The successes of Rājendra Chōḷa (pp. 471-472); Vishnuvardhana's military exploits before and after his death (p. 476); Ballāḷa III fortifying Hampi or Vijayanagara (pp. 488-489) policy of the five brothers founders of Vijayanagara (pp. 489-491); reign of Dēva Rāya I (pp. 491-492); Vīra Narasimha's order to blind Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya (p. 495).

This confusion of chronology and of events is, one is sorry to say, increased by the fact that the history of the Dynasties included in this chapter is far from being complete. The reader finds important gaps which seem to be substantiated by the author himself. Twice he refers to the Kadambas of Goa (p. 476 and 477) and only once to the Kadambas of Hangal (p. 477). The latter are never mentioned when the city of Banavasi as governed by the Chalukyan governors is

spoken of (Cf. p. 476), in spite of its being under the dominion of the Hangal rulers. Even the siege of Hangal itself by Vishnuvardhana is recorded without any reference to the Kadamba king then ruling there (p.477). All these omissions seem to be supported by the following statement: "The loyal Sindas had already been overpowered (c. 1190), and there was no power between the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas" (p. 480). Thus the Kadambas of Hangal, who were also the owners of Banavasi, and the Kadambas of Goa, who similarly possessed the territory of the ancient Palāṣige (Halsi) 12,000 are absolutely choked off from the map of India. Accordingly when the king Rājendra Chōḷa is said to have conquered Banavasi towards the middle of the XIIth century (p. 468), no mention at all is made of the Kadamba king Chaṭṭaya Dēva who was then the ruler of Banavasi (Cf. *E I*, XV, p. 333); and in a similar way when Nripakama Hoysaḷa is said to have helped 'the chief of Banavasi' against his enemies (p. 471), there is no attempt at all to identify this 'chief of Banavasi' with the same Kadamba king Chaṭṭaya Dēva mentioned above (Cf. *E. C.*, V, Mj, 44.)

All these flaws seem to suggest that this chapter was, at least partly written without immediately consulting the sources. Thus, towards the end of Vishnuvardhana's reign we read the following passage: "In this same year, 1138, the Chalukya Somēśvara III died and was succeeded by his son Jagadekamalla in the Chalukya kingdom. Vishnu renewed his aggressions, taking advantage of the new succession, but was again baulked by the activities of the loyal governors of the kingdom. His activity ceased in 1141 or soon after" (p. 477). One cannot explain how the author did not mention here the name of the Sinda chief Permadi—as he had mentioned before the one of his father Achugi II—who seems to have inflicted a tremendous defeat, perhaps the last and decisive, upon the army of the Hoysaḷa monarch (Cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 244).<sup>1</sup>

Another startling statement is that "Harihara or Hariyana Odeyar (Saṅgama's eldest son) had the southern Maratha

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<sup>1</sup> The date of this defeat seems to be 1144.



territory under his charge *with his headquarters at Bankapur or Goa*" (Italics mine) (p. 489). I do not know whether the learned author has discovered any inscription mentioning these two cities as the capitals of Harihara's viceroyalty; but the inscriptions published hitherto do not say anything of the kind. One of the year 1347 mentions the city of Hastini (Ānegondi) "which was protected by the king Harihara together with his brother" (*E. C.*, VIII, Sb, 375). Another of the year 1336-37 states that "he ruled the whole earth at the city of Kunjarakōṇa" (Ānegondi) (Butterworth, *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 114). It is therefore evident that the capital of Harihara was Ānegondi.

Just after the above statement we again read as follows: "What was hitherto Banavasi 12,000 and the coast country over against Mysore on the west were under his (Harihara's) authority" (p. 489). The author says a little after that Mārāpa, the fourth brother, was ruling the kingdom of Araga, but the above inscription of 1347 tells us that he defeated the Kadamba king in his own territory of Banavasi from which fact we may conclude that Banavasi was under his jurisdiction. About the third brother, Bukka, it is said: "Hampi and Dvārasamudra with an alternative at Penukonda were in charge of the third brother Bukka" (p. 489). No inscription seems to have ever stated that these two cities were under Bukka's charge: certainly an inscription of the year 1352 informs as that Bukka was ruling at Dōrasamudra (*Madras Epigraphical Record*, 1906, p. 522). But nothing is said of Hampi which was the residence of Harihara. It is true that in 1340 Harihara and his brother Bukka "were ruling the earth" (*E. C.*, IX, Bn, 59); but this does not precisely mean that both resided at Hampi; their names are given together, for Bukka at this time was already appointed Yuva-Rāja (*E. C.*, V, Cn, 256). No epigraphical foundation seems likewise to be published about the rule of Muddapa at Penukonda, as stated in this chapter (p. 489). Towards the close of the chapter it is said that the evacuation of the city of Vijayanagara two years after the battle of Talikota "was due, according to Caesar Frederick... to the mutiny of two corps of Muhammadan mercenaries" (p. 499). Nevertheless,

Frederick records the treachery of these two captains during the battle of Talikota, "in the chiefest of the fight", as he says. (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*, X, p. 23).

Had the references to the sources been given in their respective places, the information would have been checked, and the history contained in this volume would have been reliable. It is a pity indeed that such references to the sources should have been neglected in these volumes of *The Cambridge History of India*. History as conceived by modern historians is totally different from the unreliable accounts of the past centuries. At present history does not admit any statement without a proof; and this proof is the reference to a source. It is true that a good bibliography corresponding to every chapter is given at the end of the volume, but this does not seem enough to the modern requirements of criticism. The editors of *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* have happily realized this need, and the first volume of this work has appeared according to all the requirements of modern historical methodology<sup>1</sup>.

About the internal criticism displayed by the author of this chapter, it is gratifying to note his total disregard for the story of Saḷa fighting with the tiger, as the initial event in Hoysaḷa history (Cf. p. 471). Such a story is an invention of the XIIIth century, and is not to be recorded in South Indian History any longer (Cf. Rice. *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 260) Yet the learned Professor of Madras does not dare to give up the story of Vidyāraṇya co-operating with Harihara in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara (Cf. p. 489). Vidyāraṇya's story is also to be discarded by scientific historians, as an evident concoction of the XVIth century.

What was to be a review of a volume has finally become the review of one of its chapters, which after all, is the most interesting. As for the volume itself one is, after careful examination, bound to say, that it will produce a bad effect among those who are not acquainted with the history of

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<sup>1</sup> It is to be hoped that the system of referring to the sources will be thoroughly changed in the forthcoming volumes of *The Cambridge History of India*.

India. But those who know well the history of this continent will relegate this volume to a corner of their libraries, to be totally removed from them when their shelves offer no more space to new works of real historical value.

H. Heras, S. J.

**KERALA SOCIETY PAPERS.** Published by the Kerala Society. Trivandrum, 1928. Price Rs. 2. Foreign: 3 s (11 × 8½, 56 pp).

This apparently is not the journal of the above Society, but a collection of a few papers written under its auspices.

The chief attraction of this volume is the publication in its pages of 16 palm leaf MSS., which throw important light on the chronology of the Travancore kings who ruled between 1544 and 1677 A. D. "They are written", says Mr. M. Rajaraja Varma Raja, M.A., B.L., their discoverer, "on cadjan (palmyra) leaves in Tamil characters, the language being Tamilised Malayalam current at the time". (p. 1). These are published in the present work in their original, together with a summary in English and a table giving the Malayalam year and the corresponding English date.

Among the other contributions in the volume, the one by Professor F. C. Birkitt, D. D., calls for special comment. In the course of his article, the learned professor makes the strange statement that the form of Christianity prevalent in Southern India in 1501, when "the Portuguese first came in touch with the native Christians", was Nestorianism. But one looks in vain throughout the article for the reasons which have led him to this conclusion; which is indeed very startling, especially when one knows that no conclusive evidence has yet been brought forward to shew that the indigenous Christians were either Nestorians or Roman Catholics. In fact, if at all any opinion can be expressed on the subject at the present stage of research, it will certainly be in favour of the latter theory. In this connection the attention of the professor may be invited to a letter of St. Francis Xavier to King John III of Portugal, published in *Monumenta Historica S. J., Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, p. 511. In this epistle St. Francis extols the qualities of the Armenian

bishop Jacome Abuna, whom he styles a virtuous and holy man. He tells the king that Abuna had laboured much among the Christians of Saint Thomas, and explicitly states that he was "very obedient to the customs of our holy mother the Church of Rome". It is evident from this letter that the Church in Malabar in the time of St. Francis Xavier was in communion with the Armenian Church. Now this church had always acknowledged the supremacy of the Holy See; and hence the final remark of St. Francis that Bishop Abuna was obedient to the customs of the Roman Church. Furthermore if the Malabar Church was tinged with the Nestorian doctrines, St. Francis who knew the theology of the Catholic Church to perfection, would never have failed to recognise it as such from the beginning, and never have written the letter about Bishop Abuna to King John of Portugal. Here we have contemporary evidence to shew that the Malabar Christians were Catholics and not Nestorians. However, this should not be understood to mean that there were no Nestorians at all in Malabar. We admit that there were individual followers of Nestor.

The other articles in the volume are both entertaining and instructive. But the printing and the general get-up leave ample room for improvement.

G. M. Moraes.

THE LAW AND THEORY OF RAILWAY FREIGHT RATES. By Kalyan C. Srinivasan, M. A., I. A. & A. S., First Secretary, Railway Rates Advisory Committee. With a foreward by His Excellency Sir Charles Alexander Innes, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S., Governor of Burma. B. G. Paul and Co., Publishers, Madras, 1928. (9½ × 6½, XXIII, 504 pp.)

There is only one chapter of this book which is within our province, and that is chapter I, where the history of the Indian Railways is narrated from the time when Mr. Rr M. Stephenson submitted the first proposals for the construction of a railway in India in 1844. Mr. Srinivasan seems to be a good research scholar. One nevertheless would be glad to see some more references to the sources at the foot of his pages.

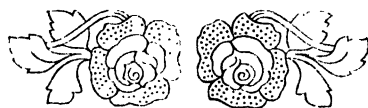
Anyhow, if the rest of the book is like this chapter, it must be recommended to all those interested in economical questions in India.

H. Heras, S. J.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA. By Adolf Waley, London, Constable and Company Ltd., 1907. ( $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , X, 556 pp.)

This book adds no new information to the field of Indian Historical Research. The author has apparently never been trained in the difficult task of writing history, as the chief principles of historical methodology are totally ignored throughout his book. His style is good, though the grouping of scenes is not always successful. It finally gives the general impression that the intention of the author was to present a real pageant to the public, not a history of India to scholars and students. From this point of view the title of the book is quite appropriate. Accordingly we cannot recommend the book to any lover of history.

H. Heras, S. J.



# Notes and News

Prof. R. D. Banerji, Benares Hindu University, has discovered two temples of the Bhuvaneshwara type, apparently belonging to the VIIIth century A. D. in the state of Baud, Bihar and Orissa. Accordingly they seem to be prior to the famous temple of Bhuvaneshwara which was considered hitherto the oldest Orissa temple. They are eight miles away from the town of Baud on the banks of the Mahānadi, and both surrounded by jungle. One of these temples is Vaishnava and the other is Saiva. To the industry of Prof. Banerji is also due the discovery of a huge statue of Buddha found buried in the town of Baud itself. It is carved in black stone and measures eleven feet.

It is a sad duty to record in the pages of our *Journal* the death of Dewan Bahadur Purshottam Balkrishna Joshi, better known as Rao Bahadur P. B. Joshi, that occurred on the 25th of March. The title of Dewan Bahadur was conferred on him on the 1st of the same month. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University and was associated with many learned societies of Bombay. He wrote several historical works, such as *Early History of Bombay* and *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India*, both in English, and *Victoria Mahotsawa*, in Marathi. But his greatest service to historical research was the help rendered to Sir James Campbell in preparing the 25 volumes of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* for which he was publicly rewarded by Government at the Delhi Darbar of 1903.

Mr. Anu Ghosh F.C.S., F.G.S., a well known geologist of Calcutta, has lately discovered another recension of the fourteen rock edicts of Asoka, engraved on five large rocks in the Karnool District, Madras Presidency. Rubbings of the inscriptions have been taken and eleven edicts have already

been identified. The Archaeological Department will publish these inscriptions with a corresponding critical apparatus.

In order to foster liking and enthusiasm for historical studies, the G. I. P. Railway announced a students' tour in Northern India during the last month of October, to which all the Colleges of Bombay were invited. 190 students and several professors of different Colleges joined the tour. The party visited the archaeological monuments of Sanchi, Gwalior, Agra, Sikandarah, Fathpur-Sikri, Delhi and Bhopal. The tour lasted ten days.

Sir Thomas Arnold is soon bringing out a Catalogue of Mr. C. Bealty's Collections of Mughal and Persian paintings. Important as this work is for the general history of art in India, it is also very useful on account of several paintings of purely historical interest.

In an article entitled *The Appeal of Siam*, published in *The Asiatic Review*, XXIV, pp. 587-592, by Reginald le May, M. R. A. S., author of *An Asian Arcady*, there is a succinct description of the main features of the religious architecture of that country. It reads as follows:—

“The Architecture of Siam, to my mind, is a thing of beauty and joy to look at. It is rightly called Indo-Chinese, for while the Temple Halls are characteristic of China, the tall and graceful pagodas, whether “Praprang” or “Prachedi” recall at once the ancient Hindu and Buddhist monuments of India. And yet the Siamese seem to have evolved from the fusion of the two a style all their own. They have robbed the Chinese roof of its heaviness, and, with the use of slender sloping pillars and the blending of beautifully coloured tiles in the roofs themselves, have achieved a

distinction hard to equal elsewhere. The excessive ornament so common in Hindu temples has disappeared from the pagodas, and the blunted spire of Indo-Khmer, or the pointed spire of the truer North-Indian stupa, alike combine to invest the whole with the spirit of the East without its tawdriness. The precincts of the temples are always swept and garnished, and the visitor will find in the gardens a quiet and a peace that is unmistakable and worthy of comparison with his own old abbeys and cathedrals in Europe. A climb in the evening up the steps to the top of the Golden Mount in the centre of the city is always a revelation both to resident and visitor. The whole town seems to be lost in a forest of leafy trees, and the setting sun lights up the carpet roofs peeping out from among them, all orange and red and green—a scene not lightly forgotten. The Chinese, in the Sung period, made a type of beautiful porcelain called “Chun Yao”, which had a thick, opaque glaze of two colours, light skyblue with patches of mauvish pink. I often wondered whence they obtained this delightful effect, until about six o'clock one evening in December I saw exactly the same effect in the Bangkok sky, and then I knew!”

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Rao Bahadur Pandit Radha Krishna has discovered an important epigraphical record in the Muttra District, U. P. It is an inscription engraved on a small stone pillar having seventeen lines. It belongs to the reign of Chandra Gupta II, the son of Samudra Gupta, of the Imperial Guptas. It is dated the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month Asadh, of the year 61 Gupta Era (380 A. D.). This is the earliest known date of Chandra Gupta II, whose reign seems accordingly to have been very long, since the last known date of this king is 93 (412 A. D.) This new document records the building of a temple by one Arya Uditacharya.

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Khan Bahadur Bomonjee D. Pudumjee, one of the members of our Society, has published an illustrated pamphlet entitled *Notes on the Subject of Shivaji's Sword*. This weapon was bought by him at an auction sale many years



ago at Poona, as an old curio; but after being cleaned the following inscription in Dēvanāgarī characters inlaid in gold was discovered on the blade:

छत्रपति महाराजा  
शिवजी

i. e. *Chhatrapati Mahārāja Shivaji*. Mr. D. P. Moos, an expert in old arms and armour, and Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Professor of Sanskrit, Deccan College, Poona, have respectively recognised the old age of the weapon and of the inscription. Consequently it seems evident that Khan Bahadur Pudumjee's sword is *one* of Shivaji's swords. We are able to present a coloured picture of this sword to our readers, thanks to the kindness of the Khan Bahadur. "It is a 'teght' sword" — says its lucky owner — "with a broad curved blade which is slightly concave in the middle and is made of flexible steel. It is single edged and higher up double-edged up to a length of 9 inches from its point. The length of the blade measured along the middle of its curve from its point to the hilt is 2 ft. 4½ inches. The tang of the sword is 2½ inches wide. The blade is broader higher up, the maximum width being nearly 3 inches. The hilt of the sword is beautifully encased with tiny gold flowers". (p. 5).

Dr. M. H. Krishna Iyengar, M. A., D. Litt., (London), Director of Archaeological Researches, Mysore, has been conducting excavations in the valley situated to the west of Chitradurga hill. Here, according to popular tradition, lies buried an ancient city, known to the neighbouring people as Chandravalli or the 'Moon-village'. The efforts of the young archaeologist have been crowned with the greatest success. The findings of the first season may be classified as follows:—

*Epigraphy*. Two inscriptions; one of them, engraved on a boulder, mentioning the Kadamba King Mayurasarma. It



**One of Shivaji's Swords.**



seems on palaeographical grounds to belong to the second half of the III century. Besides, an inscriptionless viragal.

*Nunismatics.* Lead coins of the Andhra dynasty and Roman and Chinese coins.

*Archaeology.* A city of the Sātavāhana period and another of previous date. Besides several dolmens and a sand-stone image of Ganēśa.

"The work conducted on the ancient site during the 28 days available for it last summer, cannot be considered to be anything more than a preliminary study", says Dr. Krishna Iyengar in an article on the *Excavation at Chandravalli*, published in the *Journal of the Mysore University*. II, No. 2. "But at this stage much can be said": he continues "that there was a neolithic settlement very long ago in what is now the Chandravalli valley and the neighbouring slopes. Some time later a town arose which appears to have flourished between the first century B. C. and the third century A. D. It had large brick built houses and a high standard of material culture, perhaps dependent upon a flourishing iron industry. It was also probably an important political place connected with the Sātavāhanas, their Mahārathis and their contemporaries". (pp. 7 and 8).

Prof. K. G. Kundangar, M.A., Rajaram College, Kolhapur, contributes an interesting article to *The Rajaramian*, XV, pp. 8-11, entitled *Identification of Kolhapur and Brahmapuri*. The conclusions he draws at the end of the paper are the following:—

"(a) Dr. Fleet's identification of Kolhapur cannot be final as the places in the boundary of the plates cannot be traced round about Kolapur in Berar;

»(b) Almost all the places mentioned in the boundary of the plates are found within a distance of about ten miles round about Kolhapur of Southern Maharashtra;

»(c) Buddhistic remains and caves are found in Kolhapur State and also in Satara District.

»(d) Coins of the Andhra and Kshatrapa Kings are found at Brahmapuri and Bid near Kolhapur.

»These arguments conclusively prove, that Brahmapuraka and Kolhapur of the Seoni plates cannot be any other than Kolhapur and Brahmapuri of Southern Maharashtra.”

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Prof. M. S. Commissariat, M.A., I.E.S., Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, delivered a course of six lectures in the University of Bombay on the History of Gujarat. The subjects of these lectures were the following:--

I. The monuments of Gujarat and their Historical Associations.

II. Shivaji's First Sack of Surat (1664).

III. The Satyasio Kal or the Great Gujarat Famine of Samvat 1687 (1631 A.D.).

IV. The English at Surat during the First half of the Seventeen Century.

V. Mandelslo's Travels in Gujarat (1638).

VI. The economic condition and the trade and manufactures of Gujarat during the Mughal Period.

. . .

Prof. J. H. Breasted, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, has issued a review of the work of the Institute. The Institute was organized in 1919 by funds provided by Mr. Rockefeller, junior. Considerable attention has been given to the Archaeology of Asia Minor and specially to the Hittite sites. Palestine and Egypt have also been visited by an expedition of the Institute. Asia also is within the scope of the Institute, and it is to be hoped that they will soon turn their attention to India and Indonesia.

. . .

Rev. M. Asin Palacios, Professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid, contributes a very interesting article on the *Comentarios de don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, de la Embajada que de parte del Rey de España don Felipe III hizo al Rey Xa Abas de Persia*. Don Garcia de Silva went across Asia in the XVIIth century, and gives an interesting account of his journey. Tartars, Turks, Arabs, Indians, Armenians, Persians

and Jews are the nations he studies in his learned book, by examining their physiognomical character, their psychology, their religion, their houses, their dress, music, poetry, languages, sports and all the other manifestations of social life. He was the first in announcing to European scholars the existence of Sanskrit, as different from the vernacular languages spoken in India.

Among the students working for the M. Litt. and Ph. D. degrees in History in the Cambridge University, there are two working in Indian subjects:—

T. G. P. Spear: "Social Life in British India in the XVIIIth century."

M. Nazin: "Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni."

The Society has lost its first member in the person of Prof. J. N. Samaddar of the University of Patna, who died at Patna in the beginning of last November. He had been teaching history, at the Patna Government College since 1912. He had done important researches in ancient Indian History. Under the auspices of the Calcutta University he delivered a course of lectures on the *Economic Condition of Ancient India*, in 1921. As an Honorary Reader of the University of Patna he also gave a course of lectures on the *Glories of Magadha*. The second edition of these lectures was published shortly before his death. Lately he was engaged in editing the *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume*. The title of 'Pratanatwabagish' was conferred on him on account of his studies in archaeology.

. . .

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay, was invited by the Mysore University to deliver two extension lectures in Indian History. The subjects selected by him were the following:—

- I. The Foundation of the City of Vijayanagara.
- II. The Origin of the Saṅgama Dynasty.

In the first lecture Fr. Heras proved that the city of Vijayanagara was founded by Vīra Ballāḷa III of the Hoysaḷa-vaṃśa, in order to fortify the northern frontier of his empire against the Muhammadan invasions. In the second he made clear that the Saṅgama family was a purely Kanarese family, probably related to the Hoysaḷas of Mysore and most likely settled in the western corner of the Kadur District. The lectures will be published in a book-form by the end of this year.

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The Punjab Historical Society has resumed the publication of its *Journal* which was discontinued for several years. The new number of the *Journal* corresponds to Vol. X, Part I, and contains an account of the *Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls—Shah Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah*, translated from the Dutch by Mrs. D. Kuenen-Wicksteed and annotated by J. Ph. Vogel, Ph. D. This account is a document of great value for the history of the later Mughals. The Punjab Historical Society is to be congratulated on the publication of this narrative.

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Twenty-three post-graduate research students have been working regularly in the Indian Historical Research Institute of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, during the past academic year. They were preparing theses for obtaining the M. A. degree in History. Three of them were studying Iranian subjects; the other twenty were doing research in Indian History. The following list gives the subjects of their thesis: the students marked with \* are graduates of St. Xavier's; the other students are graduates of the Colleges shown against their names.

Abraham, O. L. (St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly). *Cochin under the Portuguese and the Dutch*.

Alvares, E. M. (St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore). *The Nayaks of Ikeri*.

\*Banaji, D. R. *Relations between the Sidis of Janjira and the British of Bombay*.

- \*Bharucha, P. C. *Early History of the Thana District*.  
 Coelho, Wm. (St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore.) *The Hoysala Empire of Mysore*.  
 Colaco, D. (St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore). *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*.  
 De Silva, J. (Deccan College, Poona). *Dynastic Symbolism in Ancient India*.  
 \*Divekar, B. R. *Raghunatha Rao Peshwa*.  
 \*D'Silva, F. X. *Shivaji, according to Foreign Sources*.  
 \*Fonseca, I. *Emperor Jahangir and the Jesuits*.  
 Kasim Ali. (Aligarh University). *Relations between Nizam Ali and the Marathas*.  
 Lowji, J. M. (Elphinstone College, Bombay). *The British Factory of Cambay*.  
 \*Moraes, G. M. *The Kadamba-kula*.  
 \*Nentin, B. A. *The Nawabs of Arcot*.  
 \*Nentir. S. A. *Relations between Tipu Sultan and France*.  
 Ranidas, S. G. R. (Wilson College, Bombay.) *A Study in Vijayanagara Economics*.  
 Saletore, B. A. (St. Aloysius' College, Mangalore). *Social and Political Life of the Vijayanagara Empire*. (A thesis for the Ph. D.)  
 \*Shah, C. J. *Jainism in Northern India*.  
 Sharma, B. C. S. (University of Mysore). *The Gangas of Mysore*.  
 Sheth, C. B. (Wilson College.) *The Western Chalukyas*.

One of the most interesting contemporary chronicles of the Portuguese achievements in the East is the work entitled *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda. The work consisted of ten books or parts; but the last two parts were thought to be lost, as they apparently had never been published. Senhor Pedro de Azevedo, in the introduction to the third edition of Castanheda's (Coimbra, 1924), says the



following: "We do not know anything of the whereabouts of books IX and X. Any day, perhaps, they will suddenly come to light." Fortunately the MS. of these two books was lately discovered in Holland and they will soon be published in Portugal. Castanheda's work is useful not only for the history of the Portuguese in India but also for the history of Vijayanagara, Malabar, the Bahamani kingdoms, and all those with whom the Portuguese maintained relations.







# Shivaji's Visit to Benares

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B.

The route followed by Shivaji in going to and coming from Agra, where he had gone at the invitation of Aurangzeb, is still not very satisfactorily known. I propose in this paper to examine the validity of some of the statements made in Shedvalkar-Bhonsale's *Bakhara* in this connection.

The author of this *Bakhara* asserts at pp. 50-51, that while *en route* to Delhi Shivaji halted at both Allahabad and Benares. We are told that he first visited Allahabad where he spent one day. Then he proceeded to Benares along with his retinue and encamped on the outskirts of that city. Sono Pandit, a learned Brahman from Benares, visited him there and made all arrangements for the comfortable stay of the party at the place of its encampment, by inducing traders and workmen to come and settle down in the locality. These men eventually built permanent houses there and the new settlement was named Shivapura in honour of Shivaji. One day Shivaji installed at this village images of the five Pāndavas, *panchamukhi linga* of Mahādēva and of a goddess, and constructed a well in front of these temples inscribing his own name upon a stone embeded in it. During his stay at Shivapura Shivaji used to bathe in the Ganges every day, and the Benares Ghat he used to visit for this purpose began to be called Rājghat in honour of the distinguished guest who was bathing there.

The account given by the *Bakhara* writer looks very detailed and circumstantial, and superficial inquiry would tend to show that it is true. For on the outskirts of Benares there is still a suburb called Shivapura which at present possesses the temples of the various deities mentioned in the *Bakhara*. In front of these temples is a big well with an inscribed stone embeded in it over its entrance. The nearest Benares Ghat for Shivapura is Rājghat, and Shivaji, it looks very probable, must have naturally used it. Its name Rāj-

ghat, therefore, may have been due to Shivaji's association with it mentioned by the *Bakhara*-writer.

For a time therefore I was inclined to hold that the story of Shivaji's visit to Benares may be true, but when I proceeded to decipher the stone inscription embeded in the well I found that the whole account was imaginary. Unfortunately, the stone in question is very brittle and considerably worn away in many places. Besides its surface has grown very dark at its corners, and even the slightest effort to cleanse it results in the peeling off of the letters owing to the extreme brittleness of the stone. I therefore found it impossible to read the whole epigraph, but from the portions that were clear and intact, I learnt that the inscription not only did not contain even the name of Shivaji, but was inscribed in Samvat 1646 or 1590 A. D., *i. e.* 40 years before the birth of Shivaji, who is supposed to have built the well. The word Samvat before the figure clearly indicates that it is the reckoning according to Vikrama era which is current in Benares. But even supposing the record to be in Saka era, we cannot support the *Bakhara* account; for in that case the construction of the well has to be referred to 1724 A. D. when more than 44 years had elapsed after the death of Shivaji.

It is however not only the date but also the contents of the record which flatly contradict the *Bakhara* story. From the extant portions of the record we learn that the well was built by a feudatory king of the Dandana family, Bedara by name, at the request of his preceptor. He was a resident of Cawnpore, and the construction of the well was completed on the second day of the dark fort-night of Magha Samvat 1646, *i. e.* sometime in February 1590 A.D.

Apart from the contents of the inscription, there are a few other considerations which would discredit the account of the *Bakhara*. Shivapura is much more ancient than the time of Shivaji; for since very early times it has been forming the fifth halt for the pilgrims circumambulating Benares for their *panchakroshi* pilgrimage. The images which Shivaji is said to have installed are similarly ancient ones; our

inscription itself shows that the *Pāṇḍava mandapa* in front of which the well was built existed 40 years before Shivaji's birth. It is therefore very clear that Shivaji could not have been the person who installed the *Pāṇḍava* images. We need not further confess that the name Shivapura cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the assumption of Shivaji's visit to the place. Surely Shiva is not an unknown deity in or round about Benares; and therefore a village on the outskirts of Benares, which contains the most famous Shiva temple of the Hindus, could well have been named as Shivapura.

It is not difficult to explain the genesis of the story given by the *Bakhara* writer. The book was written in the latter half of the 19th century. It brings the narrative down to the extinction of the Satara house in 1848 A.D. and informs us that Pratapasimha, the last but one ruler of that dynasty, was deposed and taken to Benares, where he used to occupy a bungalow in Shivapur near the Benares cantonment. It would appear very likely that the *Bakhara* writer based his account on information obtained from one of the members of the retinue of Pratapasimha. A fertile brain in Pratapasimha's colony at Shivapura may have started the theory of explaining the name of the village by supposing it to be the place of Shivaji's halt in Benares. Rājghat where Pratapasimha and his retinue must be going for their usual Ganges bath—it being the nearest to Shivapura—was similarly accounted for. And since Shivapura was founded by Shivaji, it naturally followed that the principal deities of the place were also installed by him. This whole theory would have appeared very plausible, had it not been asserted that the big well before the temples was also Shivaji's work, with an inscription of his commemorating his visit and benefaction. Obviously the man who started the theory had not taken the trouble of scaling up to the high place of the inscription; or if he had done so, he had failed to understand even the A. B. C. of it. Otherwise he would not have the temerity to assert that it was an inscription of Shivaji.

I herewith subjoin a transliteration and translation of the last three lines of the record which are intact and very important for our enquiry.

**Janahitaishī Beḍarakshoṇipālah | Vihitavividhapūrtochī-  
karacchāruvapīm | vimalasalilasārām hridyasopāna-  
panktim | Samvat 1646 Māgha vadī 2 Kānaphura māke  
ghara (?) sāhī gala (?)**

“King Beḍara, who was always devoted to the welfare of his subjects and who had constructed several works of public benefactions, built this well of pure water and the flight of steps leading to it (on) the second day of the dark fortnight of Samvat 1646”.

The last line of the record above I cannot interpret with certainty, but it seems to state that the benefactor was a feudatory residing at Cawnpore.



# Some Documents on the Bassein Mission in the Possession of the Society of Jesus

By Rev. G. Schurhammer, S. J.

In the following article we do not intend to give a list of all the documents about the Bassein Mission in the possession of the Society of Jesus, but only of some few we came across some years ago whilst looking for material for the *Life of Saint Francis Xavier*, which we are now preparing. Here we shall limit ourselves to those records after the death of the Saint, as we shall treat of those during his life on some other occasion.

1. Goa 7. A. Valignano, S. J., *Summary of the Goa Province & its Government for Fr. General, 1579: Chapter 6* contains a description of *Bassein City*: a parish priest with 2-3 chaplains, 12-14 Franciscans, 3-4 Dominicans, the Jesuit College with 15-16 Jesuits. The Jesuit Church was finished last year; the College building not yet quite finished. *Chapter 7. Jesuit Missions near Bassein. S. Thome*: house of recreation of the Bassein College with 1 Father and 1 Brother for the surrounding people, of whom in a short time 1500 have been converted; choir of Church finished. *Thana*: 100 houses of Portuguese, very many Muhammadans, Hindus and Jews, 4000 Indian Christians, 1 parish priest, 4 Jesuits (2 Fathers, 2 Brothers) and Augustinians, Jesuit Residence with College and small Church. *Trindade*: [now Vihar Lake] Jesuit mission: 2500 Christians. *Bandora*: 4000 Hindus and Muhammadans, 500 Christians [the last revision on the margin of 1583 adds: "already all converted with exception of the Muhammadans, besides all converted who belong to the villages of the Japan Mission"]; "this year we built a house there, which serves also as fortress, lying near the sea, and as guard-house against the Moors and Malabarians, and 8 months it has a



guard of 10-12 Portuguese soldiers, who however reside outside the house". *Chaul*: 1 secular priest, a convent of the Franciscans and Dominicans, few conversions, being in Muhammadan territory.

2. *Goa 8. Epistolae Goanae, 1552-1572.*

1561. 1st. Dec. *Manuel Teixeira, S. J., to his brethren in Europe, Bassein* (f. 267 ff.): Friendship between Franciscans and Jesuits. These late years on a place, where the Hindus used to bathe, bathing was stopped, a Holy Cross Church built there and the place called "Mount Calvary". The Hindus transferred their bathing place to a place 2 hours away in a cavern of the mountains. Thereupon the Portuguese with Fr. Christovão da Costa, S. J., destroyed the temple, desecrated the tank, and taking the Yogi with them, found that he spoke Portuguese and was a runaway slave of a Portuguese, who pretended to imitate St. John the Baptist. *Thana* has 50-60 married Portuguese, 2-3,000 Indian Christians. Fr. João Bravo, S. J., put this year a stop to the worship of a Muhammadan Saint's tomb on the "Trindade Road", digging it up and planting a cross there.

1562. 5th. Dec. *Francisco Cabral, S. J., to his brethren in Portugal, Bassein* (f. 329 ff.): Describes Easter festivals. *Bassein City* has *circa* 300 married Portuguese, but many others Christians and pagans, conversions in the village of Portuguese landlords begin. The Jesuits baptized 300 since Febr. 1562. The Jesuit Church being very low and built of clay, much too small, last year the foundation stone was laid for a new one, and the new College is being built. *Thana*: 30-40 houses of married Portuguese, town big, but small in comparison to former times, destroyed on account of the wars.

1565. 1st. Dec. *Melchior Diaz, S. J., to his brethren in Portugal, Bassein* (f. 503 ff.): Porcum Joci, an old Brahman Saint and astrologer, receives baptism as Anrique da Cunha and "instead of Brahma, Vishnu, Maissu and Parabrahma and other pagodas" as he says, he now preaches the Christian Religion. Many follow his example, so 50 Brahmans. The Provincial of the Jesuits built for him the first chapel outside

the walls: N. Senhora da Ajuda. The Jesuit College has a big garden. *Thana*: the Madre de Deus Church belongs to the Jesuits. *Trindade*: formerly it had a beautiful pagan temple, much frequented.

3. *Goa 10. Epistolate Goanae et Malabaricae, 1545-1560.*

1560. 1st. Dec. *Gonçalo Rodriguez, S. J., to his brethren in Coimbra, Thana* (f. 542 ff.): "I arrived here 2 years ago, baptized 400."

4. *Goa 12. Epistolae Goanae et Malabaricae, 1570-1579.*

1575. 8th Oct. *Francisco de Monclaro, S. J., to Fr. General, Bassein* (f. 275 ff.): (important letter): *Chaul*: has greater trade than Bassein, suffered terribly during the siege of the Nizam, hardly two thirds of former greatness left, is being rebuilt, has 400 citizens, good parish-church, 2 convents. *Caranfa Pequena*: small fort with captain and some soldiers, Franciscan Mission. *Salsette*: circa 20,000 inhabitants Christians. *Bassein*: fort built by Nuno da Cunha, now town enlarged, with walls, is being fortified against the Malabarian pirates. North of Bassein, 7-8 harbours, in the 4 bigger ones live some Portuguese: Agashi, Maim, Tarapur, São Gens. Captain of São Gens [near Damão] is Luis Xiralobo, converted many in his villages, has beautiful chapel. Follows description of the Bassein country: plants, dress, buildings, food, etc. In *Thana* were formerly 20-30,000 weavers, now hardly more than 2000. *Bandora* village is increasing, Jesuits live in fort. *Trindade Pagoda* has 3 chapels of the same form. *Kanheri Pagoda* described: "some years ago a Franciscan who made many Christians in Salsette, wanted to make a church of the chief temple and remained some days here, but the place being in the woods and mountains, he left it". *Elephanta* described: figures partly destroyed; pagans sometimes worship here secretly. *S. Thome* church near Bassein built by Jesuits: over 4000 christians. *Bassein City*: Jesuit College nearly finished, Church too.

1577. 1st. Nov. *Manuel Teixeira, S. J., to Fr. General, Bassein* (f. 374 ff.): The Visitor Valignano took Teixeira with him on his visit to the north and left him here as superior of Bassein, Thana, Damão, Trindade, Bandora. This monsoon

Fr. João Diaz, S. J., died in Thana. He had accompanied the expedition of Villalobos to the Moluccas, had met St. Francis Xavier in Amboina, 1546, and later on entered the Society. The first Jesuit Church "Bom Jesus" in *Bassein* built in 1549, had a thatched roof. In 1561 the new Church was begun.

5. *Goa 13. Epistolae Goanae et Malabaricae, 1580-1589.*

1581. 3rd Jan. *Ruy Vicente, S. J., to Fr. General, Cochin* (f. 52 ff.): *Chaul*: This year Jesuit Residence was founded, Church nearly finished, called São Pedro and Paulo; according to a vow during the siege the captain D. Francisco Mascarenhas gave 2000 cruzades for it.

6. *Goa 22. Fundationes Goanae.* This volume contains very important documents about the foundation of various colleges, e. g. that of *Bassein* and *Thana* (f. 480 ff. and f. 513 ff.), and ordinations for the *Bassein* College of 1600 (f. 509 ff.)

7. *Goa 23. Fundationes Malabaricae.* Contains a document about the selling of the village *Quirol* (in *emphuteusis*) to the Jesuit Mission of Japan 1579, and of the 2 villages *Bombay* and *Condottim*, and the village *Mulgão*. (f. 150 ff.)

8. *Goa 35. Goana Historia, 1660-1699.* This volume contains the most detailed description of the Jesuit Missions of the north, that is the *Bassein* District, as far as we know, giving lists of all the stations, with all their substations (*pacarias*), statistics, historical details, etc.; a document, which deserves to be published in full (f. 67-87)

9. *Goa 37. Historia Societatis in Indiis Orientalibus, written by Fr. Sebastião Gonçalves, S. J., in Goa, 1614.* In his book 7, chapters 6-8, the learned author gives a very interesting summary of the history of the missions in the *Bassein* district: *Ch. 6.* Gives a description of *Salsette* and its three most famous pagodas: Mount Poincur, Kanheri, Malioz, and the Elephanta temple, and a list of all the missions of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians and Jesuits in *Salsette* and *Bassein*. The *Franciscan Missions* were: N. Sra. das Candeas with the College of Mount Poincur, N. Sra. da Assumpção, S. Thome, S. Braz, Reis Magos, Mahim, Bombaim, Mazagão,

Turumba, Caranja; and in Bassein district: Madre de Deus, João Bautista, Monte Calvario, Espiritu Santo. The *Dominicans* had N. Sra. dos Remedios; and the *Augustinians* N. Sra. das Mercês. The *Jesuit Missions* were: Thana, Bassein, Bandora (chapel of Our Lady and S. André), Trindade (here Francisco Barreto had given them the village Raobalem, and in 1558 the temple was changed into a Church), S. João de Corlem, Poinсур.

*Ch. 7.* Gives the history of Salsette beginning with the martyrs of Thana, 1320 A. D., and adds a list of all the Jesuit Superiors from the time of St. Francis Xavier to 1611.

*Ch. 8.* Gives the History of the Bassein College of the Society of Jesus with a list of its Superiors and Rectors up to about 1615.

10. *Goa 36. Goana Historia, 1700-1753.*

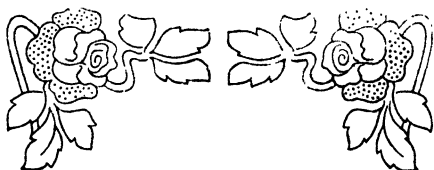
*Letter from Bombay, about 1739, about the siege of Bassein* (f. 496): "1000 Marathas against one of us . . . 80,000 footmen, 20,000 horsemen." 1739. 16th. May. *Copy of the Capitulation of Bassein*: " . . . all in the fort can leave unmolested with their property . . . the remaining Christians will not be molested in their religion . . . Chimanagi Apa is going to support 3 churches; one in the fort, one in the Cassabé, one in Salsette" (f. 496-497v). 1740. 18th. September. *Copy of the Capitulations between the Portuguese Viceroy & the Maratha leader Balagi Bagi Rao Pantu Pradane in Poona about the handing over of Chaul* (f. 498 ff.).

*Short relation about the year 1740* (f. 500-501): contains very interesting details about the Bhonsle war and the poverty to which even the first families of Bassein, Thana and Goa were reduced, etc. The Bhonsle got 50,000 cruzados on the condition that he left Bardez.

*Copies of Treaties with the Marathas, 1741.* (f. 502-505).

These are only a few documents about the Bassein Mission out of the many which still are in the possession of the Society of Jesus. It would be easy to reconstruct the history of this mission by going methodically through all the documents still preserved by the Society, especially the Catalogues and the private and Annual Letters. The *Cata-*

*logues* give year by year the lists of all the Mission stations with their missionaries with biographical details about the various persons, forming a Jesuit Directory from the time of St. Francis Xavier up to the time of the suppression of the order. The *Annual Letters* give every year the chief events in the Mission and its single stations, to which official report; the *private letters* add many new details. These unpublished documents will complete the picture drawn by the printed Mission letters, relations and chronicles. Besides, the regular correspondence contained in the *Livros das Monções* preserved in Goa and Lisbon, the *Livros da Chancellaria* in Lisbon, the many original letters in the National Archives of Lisbon and other Portuguese Libraries, the printed secular chronicles and the voluminous chronicles of the various religious orders, e. g. the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, the documents published by Cunha Rivara in his *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, by Biker in his *Collecção de Tratados*, and others form, together with the reports of travellers and the native chroniclers, an enormous amount of material for the future historian of the Bassein Mission. In one of the next numbers we hope to give some details about the documents preserved in the archives of Lisbon.



# The Kingdom of Kampila

By M. H. Rama Sharma, M. R. A. S.

Our knowledge of the political conditions of peninsular India, at the time of its conquest by the Mussalmans, is at present limited to the fortunes of the three independent kingdoms of Dēvgiri, Wārangal and Dwārasamudra. Some may add a little about a fourth, namely the kingdom of the Pāṇḍyas of Madura. Beyond this, there is very little that is known to us with any degree of certainty.

## Fact or Fiction

But references to other states are not altogether absent. In relating the conquests of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in the Deccan, Zia-ud-din Barni writes of "Tilang, Kampila, Dhur-samundar, Ma'abar", as having been brought under the rule of that sovereign in the course of the 27 years of his reign<sup>1</sup>. Of these Tilang, meaning Telingana or Telugānya, refers to the Kākatiya kingdom which included almost the whole of the eastern half of Hyderabad State and some of the coastal districts. Dhur-samundar, meaning Dwārasamudra or the Hoysala kingdom, covered nearly the whole of the present State of Mysore and the Tamil districts north of the Kāvēri<sup>2</sup>. Ma'abar refers to the Pāṇḍya kingdom which perhaps extended over the districts of Tinnevely, Madura and Ramnad. Kampila being separately named was none of these, and thus was situated somewhere else. Dow gives us a little more information about this Kampila, in relating Bahā-ud-din's rebellion. According to him the rebel was at that time governor of Saghir<sup>3</sup>, and after his defeat by the Sultan's forces in open battle before Dēvgiri, fled to "Campala in the Carnatic and took protection in

<sup>1</sup> Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 236.

<sup>2</sup> Coimbatore can also be included within the Hoysala Kingdom of this period.

<sup>3</sup> Sagar in Hyderabad State is situated about 50 miles south of Gulbarga.

the dominions of the Rāja of that place"<sup>1</sup>. This guides us to seek Campala or Kampila in the Carnatic<sup>2</sup> and in the neighbourhood of Saghir (Sagar). Carnatic or Karṇāṭaka here should be taken in its old sense of Kannaḍa speaking country, and not the pseudo-Karṇāṭaka of the East India Company's days, which referred to the coastal districts of South-East India. In his chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara, Nuniz notices the existence of the principality of Ane-gondi, while relating the last fight its king put up against the forces of the Sultan of Delhi at a place called Crynamata<sup>3</sup>. Ibn Batuta, a nearly contemporary writer of these events, says that this heroic incident happened in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak, and the Hindu king who gave Bahā-ud-din shelter was the "Rai of Kambila"<sup>4</sup>. This Kambila, Kampila or Campala has caused no small trouble to scholars. Elliot in a footnote says that he has not been able to discover it<sup>5</sup>. Even the veteran South Indian scholar, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, of Madras, has narrowly missed the mark in his attempt to identify Kambila or Kampala with the village of Kampli in the Bellary district<sup>6</sup>. Kampli, as so far known to us, was not the capital of any kingdom at any time, and a similarity in names is not enough to identify two places with each other. That there is no necessity for such an interpretation is clearly proved by one of the Ceded Districts inscriptions which notices a certain "Comāra Cumpila Bhūpāla prince of Cumpeli Desam"<sup>7</sup>. These doubts are now set at rest by the discovery of valuable historical information in two

<sup>1</sup> Dow, *History of Hindostan*, I, pp. 318-19.

<sup>2</sup> The poet Nanjunda repeatedly says that this kingdom was in Karnataka and Kuntala, and calls its king as "Lord of Karnataka" in more than a dozen ways.

<sup>3</sup> Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 293. For the identification of this Crynamata with Kummata see my article in *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, pp. 251-269.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 615.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 139 and 154.

<sup>7</sup> Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 301.

palm leaf manuscripts<sup>1</sup> in Kannaḍa, called *Paradāra-Sōdara Rāmana-Kathe* <sup>2</sup> by Nanjuṇḍa and *Kumāra-Rāmana-Sāṅgatyā*<sup>3</sup> by Ganga, which deal exhaustively with the conquests of a King Kampila.

### Beginnings and Expansion

According to Ganga, king Kampila was a Bēḍar by caste<sup>4</sup>, and according to both of them he was the son of a certain Mummaḍi Siṅga<sup>5</sup>. An ancestor of his is said to have retired to the south after the destruction of Dēvgiri by the Turukas<sup>6</sup>, and secured an estate for his maintenance at the hands of a chief who ruled at Chitrakūṭadurga<sup>7</sup>. An inscription of 1303 from Bāgavala, Hassan District, Mysore State, states that Kampila was a general of the Sevuṇās, that is, the Yāda-va kings of Dēvgiri<sup>8</sup>. This record of Kampila's battle<sup>9</sup> with the Ballāḷa general Sōmeya Daṇāyaka, at a time as early as this, indicates that he should have been in possession of considerable resources for some years past. It is therefore possible that the migration of his ancestors, if true, should have happened after the first sack of Dēvgiri in 1294. Both the poets Ganga and Nanjuṇḍa declare that Kampila had his capital at a place called Hosamale, Hosadurga or Hosamaledurga<sup>10</sup>. According to Nanjuṇḍa, this was situated in the middle of a forest to the south of Virū-pāksha temple at Hampi<sup>11</sup>. Nuniz's association of the king

<sup>1</sup> At present in the Oriental Library, Mysore. A detailed summary of these MSS. will shortly be published in the *Q. J. M. S.*

<sup>2</sup> This is marked ka 1-226.

<sup>3</sup> ka 1-186.

<sup>4</sup> Ganga, *Kumara Ramana Sangatya*, c. I, verses 31-33.

<sup>5</sup> Ganga, c. III, v. 127; Nanjunda, Part VIII, c. II, v. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Nanjunda, P. X, c. II, verses 14-16.

<sup>7</sup> Nanjunda, P. X, c. II, v. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *E. C.*, Hassan Supplement, p. 131. Copies of the unpublished inscriptions were kindly supplied to me by the Director of Archaeology, Mysore.

<sup>9</sup> This was fought close to Holalkere in Chitaldrug District.

<sup>10</sup> Nanjunda, P. IX, c. II, v. 1; c. IV, v. 127; Ganga, c. IV, v. 233.

<sup>11</sup> Nanjunda, P. I, c. IV, v. 1.



of Bisnaga with Anegondi and Ibn Batuta's "Rai of Kambila" of the same locality can but refer to this King Kampila. Sometime during this King's reign, his son Rāmanātha got a new fort constructed at Kummata <sup>1</sup>, which from that time forward became the main defence of the kingdom of Kampila. Neither of the poets gives an account of Kampila's early career. The dropping of any reference to his former overlord of Dēvgiri, in Kampila's inscription of 1310 <sup>2</sup>, leads us to the conclusion that he should have declared his independence some time before this date, but after 1303. This may be about the time Rāma Dēva was carried captive to Delhi, for which Ferishta gives 1306, Amir Khusru 1307, and Barni 1308. Malik Kāfur's invasion of South India in 1310-11, and the anarchy he left behind him after his return to Delhi in 1312, should have greatly encouraged Kampila to extend his kingdom at the cost of his neighbours. Passing references in these two manuscripts to the capture of Rāma Dēva <sup>3</sup> and the defeat of Pratāpa Rudra <sup>4</sup> and Ṣīra Ballāḷa <sup>5</sup> by the Delhi army very nearly confirm this inference of ours. Nanjunda records a successful battle fought by Kampila with Ballāḷa <sup>6</sup>. Both himself and Ganga describe at great length the victorious campaign led by this King against Pratāpa Rudra <sup>7</sup>. We are not given dates for both the above events. But in the nature of things these could have happened only after their power had grown weaker by Kāfur's attack in 1310. Frequent references in inscriptions to battles between the generals of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kannada Chenna Basava Purana*, Kanda 5, Sandhi 9, verses 77-8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Madras Local Records, No. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjunda, P. V, c. I, v. 24; P. V, c. II, v. 139.

<sup>4</sup> Nanjunda, P. V, c. I, v. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Nanjunda, P. V, c. II, v. 140; Inscriptions of dates 1320, 1322 and 1325 refer to such battles. We do not know to which battle Nanjunda refers.

<sup>6</sup> Nanjunda, P. III, c. IV, v. 106; P. VIII, c. II, v. 20; P. IX, c. IV, v. 131.

<sup>7</sup> Nanjunda, P. IV, c. II, v. 92; P. VIII, c. II, v. 34.

Kampila and those of Ballāḷa <sup>1</sup> show in which direction Kampila's expansion was most disputed. Nanjunḍa's assurance that Kampila had entered and destroyed some of the forts occupied by the Sultan of Delhi <sup>2</sup>, may refer to a period when the power of Delhi had grown weaker in the Deccan. This evidently should have been after Alla-ud-din Khilji's death in 1316 and the troubles that followed it at the court of Delhi. Thus in a few years we find Kampila bringing under his overlordship many petty chiefs as far west as Tōragal in Belgaum and Udayagiri in the district of Nellore. The last inscription of Kampila, so far available, is of the year 1325 <sup>3</sup>. Among his vassals some are noticed by Nanjunḍa. These were the chiefs of Rāyadurga, Saṅgama Dēva of Udayagiri, Pampa Rāja of Penugundi (Penukonda), the son of Timma Rāja of Kopaṇa (Koppal), Ganga Rāja of Gandikōṭa, Narahari-Kampa Rāya of Adavani, Kāchayya of Gutti and Bimma (? Bomma) of Toragalla <sup>4</sup>. To this list Ganga adds a certain Timmayya of Gantanuru <sup>5</sup>. Of his other officers, Bhāva Saṅgama <sup>6</sup> or Saṅgama, the brother-in-law, Bhaṇḍārada Harihara and Bhaṇḍārada Bukkaṇṇa <sup>7</sup> deserve special notice. In the words of Nanjunḍa <sup>8</sup>, at one time, the northern boundary of Kampila's kingdom was *Heddore* <sup>9</sup>, that is the river Kriṣṇa. Nuniz also confirms this statement, that the river *Duree* <sup>10</sup> formed the boundary of the territories of Ballaghate (Deccan plateau) and of those of the king of Bisnaga <sup>11</sup>. So does Ferishta tell us that in the war between Mujahid Shah Bahmāni and the king of Vija-

<sup>1</sup> *E. C.*, VIII, Nr, 19; *M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 119; *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Nanjunda, P. I, c. VIII, v. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *E. C.*, XII, Tp, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Nanjunda, P. VI, c. I, verses 79-86.

<sup>5</sup> Ganga., c. III, verses 383-384.

<sup>6</sup> Nanjunda., P. VI, c. I, verses 89-90.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, P. VI, c. I, verses 100-101.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, P. V. c. II, v. 129.

<sup>9</sup> This means the bigger of the two rivers, which in the Raichur Doab applies to the Kriṣṇa.

<sup>10</sup> Nuniz leaves off the first syllable *He* and spells the rest wrongly.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 292.

yanagara, the latter (Bukka) claimed that the river *Kṛishṇa* and not the *Tuṅgabhadra*, was the boundary of the old *Ānegondi* kingdom<sup>1</sup>. The titles of *Tuḷavara-gedda-ballida*<sup>2</sup>, *Tuḷava-daḷa-uḷakāra*<sup>3</sup>, and *Sahyādri-Jayasthambha-pratishṭāpanāchārya*<sup>4</sup>, which the poets claim for Kampila's son, *Rāmanātha*, may be taken as an indication of the extent of his power as far west as the Western Ghats. The inclusion of *Saṅgama Dēva* of *Udayagiri* among his vassals is much helpful in deciding that the boundary of Kampila's kingdom reached the Eastern Ghats in that direction. The southern boundary alone is indefinite as it seems to have been unsettled. *Penukoṇḍa* appears to have been on the southern frontier of this kingdom, as is evident by the battle Kampila fought<sup>5</sup> close to it, with *Kapilēndra*<sup>6</sup>, the King of Orissa.

### Its Prestige and Resources

Nor was the kingdom of Kampila lacking in prestige. Its King is said to have had many *Māṇḍalikas* (governors), *Manneyas* (nobles), *Sāvantas* (vassals) and *Amātyas* (ministers) under him.<sup>7</sup> Among other titles that the poets claim for Kampila, *Rāya*,<sup>8</sup> *Rajādhirāja*<sup>9</sup> and *Rājaparamēśvara*<sup>10</sup> are significant with his independent position. *Navalakka-Turukara-gaṇḍa*<sup>11</sup>, *Nēmiya-nālva-Suritālana-gaṇḍa*<sup>12</sup>, *Vira Rudrana-gaṇḍa*<sup>13</sup>, *Navalakka-Telugara-gaṇḍa*<sup>14</sup>, *Gajapati-*

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, III, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Ganga, c. IV, v. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Nanjunda, P. IV, c. I, verses 120-132.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Nanjunda, P. IV, c. III, v. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., P. IV, c. III, v. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., P. VIII, c. I, v. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., P. II, c. III, v. 52.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., P. IV, c. I, verses 120-132.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ganga., c. IV, v. 498.

<sup>12</sup> Nanjurda, P. VI, c. II, v. 85.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., P. IX, c. III, v. 73.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., P. IV, c. I, v. 28.

*gaḥasimha* <sup>1</sup>, *Suritālabala-sūrekāra* <sup>2</sup>, *Ballālabala-bandikāra* <sup>3</sup>, cannot be taken as meaningless in the light of glowing descriptions of successful campaigns which, according to the poets, Kampila and his son led against such powerful kings as Bāllāḷa, Pratāpa Rudra and Gajapati <sup>4</sup>. Nanjuṇḍa records in greater detail the invasion and disastrous defeat of a certain Nēmi Khan or Malluka Nēmi <sup>5</sup>, a general of the Sultan of Delhi, who had advanced against Kummata with a force of 400,000 horse <sup>6</sup>, 3000 elephants and 2000 camels <sup>7</sup>. We have Nuniz's version that the King of Anegondi, that is Kampila, had resisted the invasions of Delhi for 12 years <sup>8</sup>. According to Dow "the imperialists were twice defeated" before the Rāja of Campala or Kampila was finally crushed <sup>9</sup>. Nanjuṇḍa says that Kampila led an army of 100,000 foot, 5000 horse and 100 elephants against Ballāḷa <sup>10</sup>, and 200,000 foot, 12,000 horse and 400 elephants against Pratāpa Rudra <sup>11</sup>. At the time of the destruction of Kummata, says Nuniz, its king had 50,000 soldiers in the city of Anegondi alone <sup>12</sup>. Such a King could not have been a petty prince that we can afford to forget. Even when sufficient allowance is made for poetic exaggeration, it cannot be denied that Kampila was, at one time or other in his reign, the leader of thousands of soldiers and the ruler of a considerable portion of country.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., P. IV, c. I, verses 120-132.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Nanjunda, P. III, c. IV, v. 106; P. IV, c. II, v. 92; P. IV, c. III, v. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., P. V, c. IV, v. 63. Evidently the same as Meliquy niby or Mileque neby of Nuniz. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire*, p. 297.

<sup>6</sup> Nuniz says 100,000 horsemen. Cf. Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>7</sup> Nanjunda, P. V, c. III, v. 8.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Sewell, o. c., p. 296.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Dow, *History of Hindustan*, I, p. 318.

<sup>10</sup> Nanjunda, P. III, c. III, v. 6.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., P. IV, c. I, v. 93.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sewell, o. c., p. 293.

### Conclusion.

Thus we are led to conclude that in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, there existed a powerful state on both sides of the Tungabhadra, which roughly included the present districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cudapah, Kurnool, Belgaum, Dharwar and parts of Shimoga, Chitaldrug, Bijapur and North Canara. It was called the kingdom of Kampila, after its most illustrious ruler king Kampila, much in the same way as Vijayanagara was sometimes called by the Portuguese the kingdom of Narsiṅga after the name of Sāluva Narasiṁha. This King, Kampila, ruled at least from 1303 till 1325, possibly a little longer. It was he that gave shelter to Bahā-ud-din and brought upon himself the vengeance of Delhi. Hukka and Bukka, who were his treasurers, were perhaps the sons of one of the Saṅgamas in his service. As these two officers survived the tragedy of Kummata, <sup>1</sup> they were perhaps among "the six old men" taken captive by the Sultan of Delhi <sup>2</sup>. One of them, said to have been the treasurer according to Nuniz, is without doubt Harihara or Bukka. These being identical with the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, the kingdom of Kampila thus becomes important, as having been geographically the cradle and historically the parent of that empire <sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ganga, c. VI, v. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nuniz's account, Sewell, o. c., p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> This will be discussed in greater detail in another article.







Trilobite on the

# Marmuri Copper-plate Grant

## of the Western Chalukya Satyāśraya

By. Prof. K. G. Kundangar, M. A.

This is a grant made by Satyāśraya (Irivabedanga) of the Western Chalukya dynasty. The plates belonged to a rayat at Maṇṭur, about nine miles to the north of Mudhol and were taken possession of by Mr. B. K. Bakshi, of the Khasgi office of the Mudhol State. They were sent to me by the Rajasahed for the purpose of deciphering.

The plates consist of three sheets each about  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length by about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth joined together by a ring of  $3\frac{7}{8}$  inches in diameter and  $\frac{3}{10}$  inches thick. The seal on the ring is rectangular about  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches by 2 inches. It has in relief on a deeply counter-sunk surface, a very rudely executed figure of a boar, standing to the proper left with the Sun and Moon above it. The plates are very thin and the edges are not raised into rims to protect the writing. The edges of the plates are bent here and there by rough handling. The first, third and the fourth pages are marked at the left hand top corner by the figures 1, 2 and 3 respectively. The inscription, it may be said, is in a good state of preservation. The characters are Nāgari. The language is partly Sanskrit partly Kanarese and partly Marathi. In addition to the orthography being very bad, the language is very corrupt throughout; and therefore I have not attempted to burden the text with full corrections pointing out the mistakes. The inscription is similar to the Miraj copper-plate edited by Dr. Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, p. 140 ff. The present grant, whether it be genuine or otherwise is of value for the purposes of comparison. In order therefore to exhibit the correspondence of these plates with those of Miraj, referred to just now, their respective contents are here given in parallel columns.



**Maramuri plates.**

1. Jaiyit = yāvishkṛitam  
Vishnor = Vārāham  
kshobhit = āṇavam  
dakshaṇ = onnata-
2. dāmshtre = āgre viśrānta  
bhuvanāṁ vapu /  
Svasti / samasta  
bhuvan-
3. āśrayaḥ / śrī-prīthvī val-  
labha / mahārājādhi-  
rāja / param = eśvara
4. parama bhattāraka /  
Ayodhi-puravar =  
ādhiśvara / āroha-
5. ka-Bhagadatta-ripu-  
rāya - kāntā - vairi -  
vaidhavya- datta /  
Chā-
6. lukya kula kamala mār-  
taṇḍa / kadana pra-  
chaṇḍa / Kalīṅga  
kogaṇḍa /
7. gaṇḍa mārtaṇḍa / saṁ-  
grāma vijaya / vairi  
gharaṭa / vai-
8. ridēśa-paṭa Ajaparāya  
nirmūlanum / Nara-  
pa-
9. tirāya saṁhāraṇa / Is-  
vara mukha-kamala  
vinirgata-
10. śāstra-śāstra prapadha

**Miraj plates.**

1. Namas - tunga - siras =  
chumbi - Chandra -  
chamāra-chārave /
2. trailokya-nagar = āram-  
bha-mula- stambhā-  
ya Sambhave /
3. Svasti / Samasta-bhu-  
van = āśrayaḥ Śrī/
4. prīthvī - vallabha /  
mahā-raj = ādhi-rāja  
/ paramēśvara / pa-  
rama-bhattā-raka /  
Ka-
5. lyāṇa-pura-var = ādhi-  
śvara / āroha-ka -  
(Bha) gadatta-
6. ripu-rāya - kāntā - vairi-  
vaidha-vya datta /  
Chālukya-
7. kula -kamala-māraṇḍa /  
Kalīṅgaṁ-kogaṇḍa-  
gaṇḍa -
8. gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍa / saṁ-  
grāma-vijaya / vairi-  
gharaṭa / ekaṁga-  
vīra /
9. A śvapati-Gajapati-Na-  
rapati-vidhvaṁsaka  
/ su-
10. varṇa-varāha-lamchha-

**Maramuri plates.**

- suvarṇa - varāha-  
lāmchhana-dhvaja /
11. para-nārī-sahodara / śa-  
raṇāgata-vajra-paṁ-  
jara /
12. samasta-rājāvali - virā-  
chita-samālamkṛita / So-  
ma-  
vaṁś-odbhava Śrī-  
Vīra-Nārāyaṇa suta  
Vīra-Satyāśraya-
14. deva / Chakravartti / A-  
yodhi-purada nela-  
vidinalu su-
15. kha - saṁkathā - vinode  
rājyaṁ karīta dak-  
shaṇa diśāvare digu-
16. vijaya-yātre vijayaṁ ka-  
ravuna / K a p p a ḍ i-  
Saṁgame Saṁgame-
17. meśvara-saṁnidhau ka-  
ṭaka-melli- kāra ka-  
ravuna
23. magilu mānya grihe ni-  
veshaṇa
24. hasta 40 / ghānā, 1 / ha yā  
1 / p a ṁ ḍ i y a r e 1 /  
maḷa, 1 / malavā, 1 /
25. ashta-bhāga-teja-svām -  
ya-pārikshāya śīrase
26. bhāga // Mūlastāna-devā-  
bhūmi mattaru 12 /  
Jinālā-
27. yā bhūmi mattaru 6 /  
Bhalāri bhūmi mat-  
taru 6 / Guṁ-

**Miraj Plates.**

- na-dhvaja / paranā-  
rī-sahodara /
11. śaran = āgata - v a j r a-  
paṁjara / tathā / sā-  
masta-rājāvali-virā-
12. chita-samālimkṛita / So-  
mavaṁś-odbhava /  
Śrī-Govinda-rā-
13. ya-suta / Vīra-Satyāś-  
raya - deva chakra-  
varti / Kalyāṇa-
14. purada - nela - vīdinalu  
sukha-saṁkatha- vi-  
nodena rājyaṁ
15. karita / dakshaṇa diśā-  
vari digi-vijaya-yāt-  
re vijayaṁ kara-
16. vuna / Kopeśvara-deva-  
saṁnidhau kaṭa-  
kam = utkalita /
24. magilu grihe hasta 40 /  
ghāṇā / 1 hatta /  
mula
25. padiyade / pārikshāya  
ashta-bhoja-tāja-sa-  
mya-sarba
26. mūlikā bhūmi 2000 / gri-  
he hasta 40 / Nārga-  
vumḍa bhūmi
27. 2000 / grihe hasta 40 /  
Mūlasthāna-devā  
bhūmi 600 /

**Maramuri plates.**

28. **ḍarāṇā bhūmi mattaru 6**  
/bhāvakā bhūmi  
mata-
29. ru 6 / **Brahma-devā bhū-**  
mi mattaru, 4 / Ks-  
hetraje bhūmi mat-  
taru
30. 4 / **Mahalā bhūmi mat-**  
taru 6 / paṁnasi  
mattaru 3 / medima  
bhū-
31. mi mattaru 6 / **soṁnārā**  
bhūmi mattaru 6 /  
kati bhūmi ma-
32. taru 4 / **rujakā bhūmi**  
mattaru, 4 / nāviyā  
bhūmi
33. mattaru 6 / to **dāravali**  
bhū mattaru 4 / tā-  
ravāte
34. bhūmi mottaru 6 / **anā-**  
mika bhūmi mat-  
taru 4 evaṁ.

**Miraj plates.**

28. **gāna / padiyade / hattā /**  
maḷā / griha hasta  
24 / **Jināle bhūmi**
29. 400 / **Gumḍarāne bhūmi**  
300 / **Bhalāri bhūmi**  
200 / **Mevini**
30. bhūmi 200 / **Paṁnasi**  
bhūmi 200 / **Mailāra-**  
devā bhūmi 200 /
31. **Mūlasthāna-devā- ma li**  
bīreya-nāyakā bhū-  
mi 500 gri-
32. ha hasta 12 / **kusmaṁ**  
aśva - bandhala-ma-  
navuno-dala / **Brah-**  
ma-devā
33. 100 / **soṁnārā 200 / dva-**  
ra-pālya 100 / **nāvi-**  
yā 100 /
34. **anāmikā 100 / ēvam.**

This comparison will show that the two grants are inscribed similarly, and refer to the same monarch, **Vīra Satyāśraya**, and in the same year **Bhāva**. A little difference can be marked here and there:-

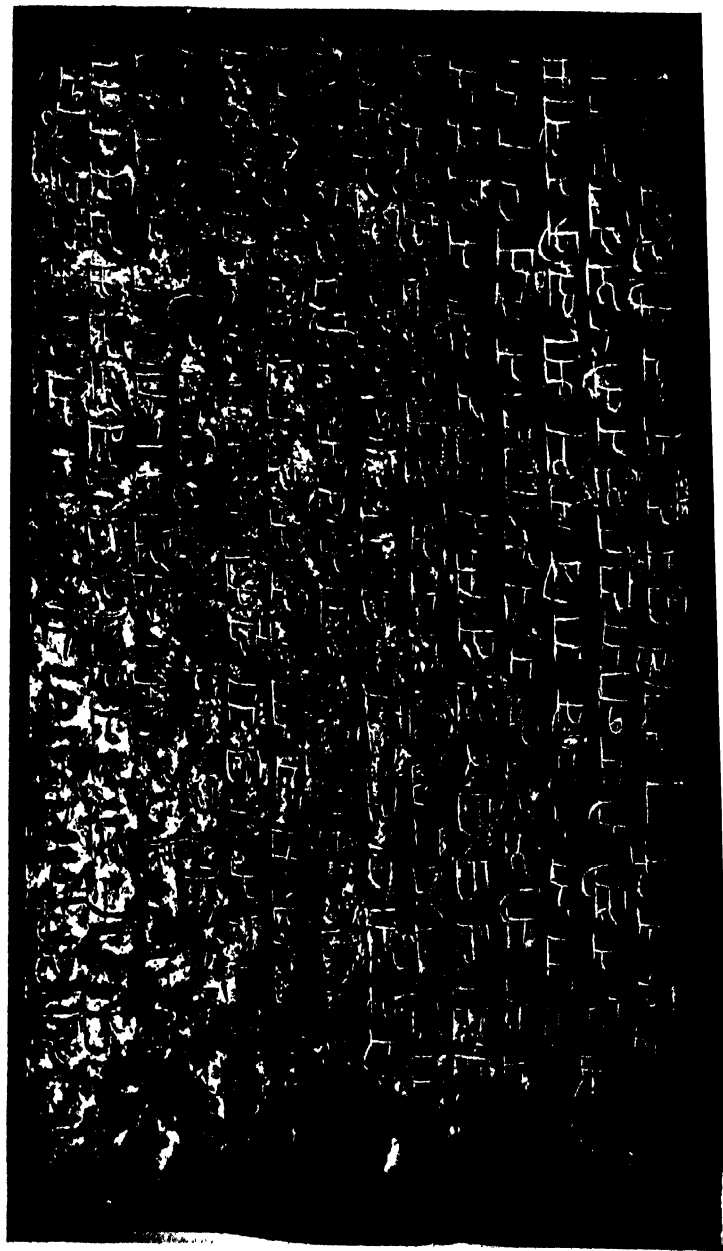
(a) verses at the beginning differ;

(b) in the Marmuri plates **Satyāśraya** is **Ayodhipura-  
vara-dhīśvara**, while in the Miraj ones he is **Kalyāṇa-pura-  
varā-dhīśvar**;

(c) In the Marmuri plates **Satyāśraya** is the son of **Vīra Nārāyaṇa**, while in the Miraj ones he is the son of **Govinda-rāya**;

(d) the Miraj grant is made exactly one month after the grant of Marmuri.

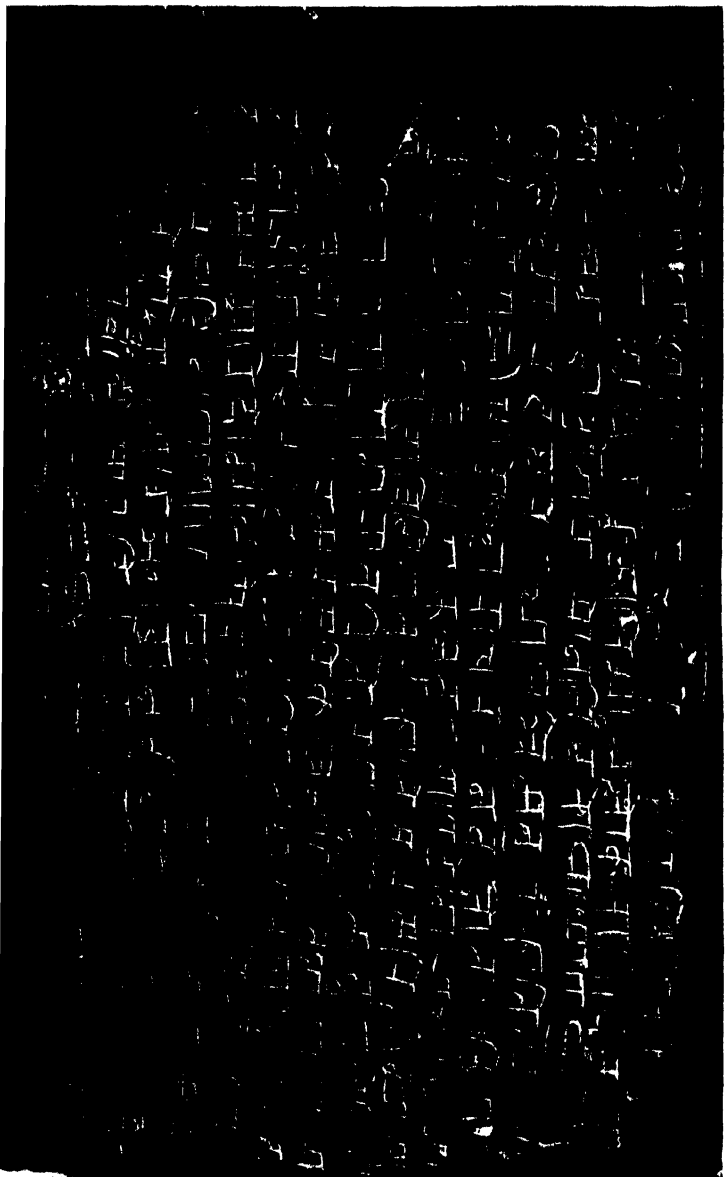
# MARMURI COPPER-PLATES







# COPPER-PLATES



In Ranna's *Gadā-yuddha* Taila II—Āhavamalla-dēva—is called Chalukya Nārāyaṇa. Ranna was the court poet of Taila and wrote his great poem *Gadā-yuddha* in Śaka 904 (982 A. D.), Chitrabhanu Saṁvatsara, when Satyāśraya was the yuvarāja. Satyāśraya's valour inspired him to write this poem wherein the hero is identified with Bhīma. This removes the doubt of Taila being called Nārāyaṇa or Govind, which are different names of one and the same deity.

Kalyāṇa was the capital of the later Chalukyas. This city is called Ayodhi, and not Ayodhya, for its occupying an unassailable position.

The characters of the plate resemble those of the 11th and 12th centuries and therefore the date can very easily be fixed, though the year of the grant is not mentioned in the text. The grant is made in Bhāva Saṁvatsara which comes in Śaka 896 (974 A. D.), and sixty years after in 956 (1034, A. D.) It has been conclusively proved now that Satyāśraya reigned from 997 A. D. to 1008 A. D. The latter date (1034 A. D.) therefore is not acceptable. The only date acceptable in the present case is Śaka 896 (974 A. D.), *i. e.* a year after the restoration of the Chalukya sway over Karṇāṭaka.

I must candidly admit that I was not able to identify the place of grant mentioned in the text. However I can say this much only, that as a mention of hills is made, the place of grant must be somewhere either in Bagalkot Taluka or in Badami Taluka or in the western part of Hungund Taluka of the Bijapur District. Kundargi is in Bagalkot Taluka about five miles to the northeast of Kaladagi. Kappadi Saṅgama is a village at the confluence of the Krishna and the Malaprabha in the Hungund Taluka. And Navaḍige is a village near Tālīkot in Muddebhihāl Taluka. For the identification of the last two places I am indebted to the Collector of Bijapur, Mr. V. H. Naik, M. A., Bar-at-Law.

The Miraj plates and the present ones are important from another point of view. The reader will meet with a number of Marathi words and phrases such as "Karavuna", "Rāma-gavumḍāsi", "Rāyā", "mannavuna", "do grāmā", "Dhakutā pohi", "Dongarā dharavuna", in the text. It will



be of great interest to the scholars of Kanerese literature to study the influence of Marathi language over it from such sources. There is another instance of such an influence in the Marathi inscription "Chamunda raje karaviyalem" on Chamunda raja basti at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. If this influence is to be considered from the historical point of view one may at once come to the conclusion that the encroachment of the Marathi language over the Kanerese districts, and the final engulfment of these was a matter of linguistic conquest.

Finally I must apologise for my not translating the portion of the text, which was impossible for me to do so.

## TRANSLITERATION

### FIRST PLATE REVERSE

1. Jaiyi-(jaya)-ty = āviskṛitaṃ Viṣṇor = vārāhaṃ kshobhit =  
ārṇṇavaṃ / dakṣhaṃ = omṇa-
2. ta-damshtr = āgre viśrānta- bhuvanāṃ vapu (ḥ) // Svasti/  
samasta-bhuvan = ā-
3. śrayaḥ / Śrī-prīthvī-vallabha / mahā-rāj = ādhirāja para-  
me-
4. śvara / param- bhattāraka / Ayodhi-pura-var = ādhī śv-  
ara / āro-
5. haka-Bhagadatta-ripu-rāya-kāntā-vairi-vaidhavya-data/
6. Chālukya-kula kamala-mārtamḍa / kadana-prachamḍa /  
Kaliṃga-Koṃ-
7. gaṃḍa (kodanḍa) / gaṃḍa / Mārtamḍa saṃgrāma-vijaya/  
vairi-gha-ṛaṭa / vai-
8. ri-deśā- paṭa-(paṭu)-Ajaparāya-nirmūlanum / Narapa-
9. tirāya-saṃhāraṇa / - īśvara-mūkha-(mukha)-kamala-vin-  
irgata-
10. śastra-śāstra-prapradha- / suvarṇa-varāha-lāṃchhana-  
dhvaja /
11. paranāri-sahodara / śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṃjara /
12. samasta-rājāvalī-virā(ra) chita-samālaṃkṛita / Soma-
13. vams-odbhava / Śrī-Vīra-Nārāyaṇa-suta / Vīra-Satyā  
śraya-
14. deva / Chakravartti / Ayodhi-purada nelavīdinalu su-

## SECOND PLATE, OBVERSE

15. kha-saṁkathā-vinode *rājya karīta* / dakṣhaṇa diśāvare  
digu-
16. vijaya-yātre vijayaṁ *karavuna*/ Kapaḍi-saṁgame saṁga  
me-
17. meśvara-sannidhau kaṭaka-mellikāra-*karavuna*// Kūḍi  
(Kūṇḍi)-tri-
18. sahasr = ābhyam̐tara Kuṁdirige 70 rolagaṇa Maramuri-  
grā
19. me-mūlikā/ madahastī-pāya-rakshā-pālaka-Hāneya-
20. yara Rāma-gavuṁḍāśi Rāyā Maṁnavuna / paṁchopa  
(paṁchaṁga)
21. pasāya/ Bhāva-saṁvachhare/ Vaiśākha-māse/ krishṇa-pa
22. pakshe / Soma-dine / asṭamyām tithau data // MūliKā-
23. bhūmi mattaru 40 / magilu mānya grihe niveshaṇa
24. hasta 40 / ghāṇā 1 / hayā // paṁḍiyare 1 / maḷā /  
mala-
25. vā 1 / ashta-bhāga (bhoga) -teja-svāmya-pārikshāya  
śīarase
26. bhāga // Mūlastā(sthā)na-devā-bhūmi mattaru 12 / jinālā
27. yā(laya)-bhūmi mattaru 6 / Bhalāri bhūmi mattaru 6 /  
Guṁ-

## SECOND PLATE, REVERSE

28. ḍarāṇā bhūmi mattaru 6 / Bhāvakābhūmi mata.
29. ru 6 / Brahmadevā bhūmi mattaru 4 / Kshetraje bhūmi  
matraru
30. 4 / Mahalā bhūmi mattaru 6 / Paṁnasi mattaru 3 /  
Medima bhū-
31. mi mattaru 6 / *Soṁārā* bhūmi mattaru 6 / Kati bhūmi mā-
32. taru 4 / Ru(ra)jakā bhūmi mattaru 4 / Nāviyā bhūmi.
33. mattaru 6 / *To-dāravali* bhū mattaru 4 / *Tāravāte*.
34. bhūmi mattaru 6 / Anāmikā bhūmi mattaru 4 / evaṁ
35. grāma-bhūmi mattaru 400 / Tathā grāmā īśānya saṁkka
36. Nāvidige-Maramuri *do* grā(mā) tri-śagaḍā // naḍi-pohi  
vāpohi)-*dhaku*.

37. *tā pōhi (vāpōhi) // tathā-vupanidhi taṭāka bhairavapāda / tathā da-*  
 38. *kshaṇa-śoka Nāvidige-Maramuri do grāmā śīme / pa-*  
 39. *ḍiya pāshāṇa / tathā pāshāṇa-pumjika / tathā dakshaṇa śaki-*  
 40. *ṇi sahaja chāba-suriya kaṁṭi / tathā dakshaṇa dongarā dharavuna*  
 41. *koharate dakshaṇa dongarā mone khalī (khāli) pāshāṇa pumjika / tathā*

## THIRD PLATE, OBVERSE

42. *paḍiya pāshāṇa / vīrā dharavuna dakshaṇa mrittikā pumja /*  
 43. *grāmā āgneya Turrukati grāma śoka Nāvidita (ge) gra-*  
 44. *mā tri śagada / domgarā mone nimbato pāshāṇa pumja / vu-*  
 45. *panidhi gorava-thara / tathā paschima Turukāti grāmā*  
 46. *Maramuriya sīmā/dongarā dharavuna kapota paḍiya pā-*  
 47. *shāṇa / tathā paścjima taṭāka śveta pāshāṇa / domgarā-dharavuna*  
 48. *nairitya kala-Navalige Turrukāti Māramuri ti(tri) grāmā*  
 49. *tri śagādā / domgarāvari toraṇa-pumjika vupanidhi ka-*  
 50. *riṭapeva / tavutara Maramuri Kalla-Nāvalige do grāmā*  
 51. *sīma / dongara dharavuna tathā hariṇa taṭāka / tathā vutara Ha-*  
 52. *hala Maramuri do grā(mā)sīme / raja-pāshāṇa pumjika / jabate*  
 53. *mayar paḍiya pāshāṇa / grāmā vāyavya Hahala Mara-*  
 54. *muri / te do grāmā tri śagadā / nadī vāpōhi sarpa-maru /*  
 55. *vupanidhi parva (pūrva) sīmā nedī dharavuna nadivaṁka / Pūrva nadī dha-*  
 56. *ravuna īśānya sīmā samāptaḥ // svadattam paradattam vā yo hareti vasuṁ-*  
 57. *dharā(m) / shashṭhi(m) varsha-sahasrāṇi viṣṭ / āyām (vishtāyām) jāyate krimiḥ //*

## TRANSLATION.

1-2. Victorious is the form, which was that of a boar, that was manifested of Vishnu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth on the top of its uplifted right hand tusk.

2-15. Ha!!! While the emperor Vīra Satyāśraya, the son of Vīra Nārāyana, the asylum of the universe, the favourite of the earth and fortune, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the lord of the city of Ayodhi, the bestower of widowhood on the wives of the hostile elephant<sup>1</sup> riding Bhagdatt kings, the Sun to the lotus of the Chalukya dynasty, the furious<sup>2</sup> fighter, the bow to the Kalinga (king), the Sun among heroes, the victorious on the field of battle, the pounder of the enemy, the uprooter of Ajaparāya the chief among the enemy, the slayer of Narapatirāya, proficient in the science of missiles delivered<sup>3</sup> by the lotus-like mouth of god Īśvara, having a banner with a device of a golden boar, the brother to wives of others, the adamant cage (of protection) to those who seek shelter, adorned with (the glory) of all the lines of kings born of the lunar race, was ruling the kingdom with the recreation of pleasing conversation in his palace at Ayodhi.

15-22. After a victorious expedition to the south, having encamped<sup>4</sup> his army at Kappadi Saṅgam in the vicinity of (the temple of) Saṅgamēśvara, gave to the potter<sup>5</sup> Rāmagounda, honouring him with the title<sup>6</sup> of Rāya and with the present of five<sup>7</sup> sorts, the village Marmuri in Kundarige Seventy, a subdivision in the district of Kundi Three-thousand,

<sup>1</sup> Arohaka-bhagatta-ripu raya.

<sup>2</sup> Kadana-prachanda.

<sup>3</sup> Pranita (prapadha of the text).

<sup>4</sup> Kataka-mellikara-karavuna.

<sup>5</sup> Haneya-yara. Paneya in Kanerese means a pot, and the letter "pa" freely changes into "Ha". Then "Paneyayar or Haneyayara" will mean a "potter".

<sup>6</sup> Raya mannavuna. The latter word belongs to Marathi language.

<sup>7</sup> Panchopasada means five sorts of gifts. Panchopapa-saya of the text).

on Monday, the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Vaishakha in Bhava Samvatsara, with the original<sup>1</sup> land of 40 mattaras, the gift house with a rigid roof<sup>2</sup> 40 cubits, an iron mace<sup>3</sup>, a horse, a quarry<sup>4</sup>, a garden<sup>5</sup>, and a mountain<sup>6</sup> with the eight<sup>7</sup> rights of the full possessions of the following land:—

22-35. The land of the Mulasthana god 12 mattaras, the land of the Jaina temple 6 mattaras, the land of Gundarana 6 mattaras, the land of the learned<sup>8</sup> 6 mattaras, the land of god Bramha 4 mattaras, the land of the orphans<sup>9</sup> born at the holy place 4 mattaras, . . . . ., goldsmith's land 6 mattaras, . . . . ., washerman's land 4 mattaras, barber's land 6 mattaras, the door-keeper's 6 mattaras, miscellaneous land 4 mattaras. The village land is in all 400 mattaras.

35-56. The boundaries from the north-east are:- The three heaps (of earth) at the common boundary of Marmuri and Navidige villages, and the feet of god Bhairava near by, thence south the common boundary-stone between the two villages, thence a heap of stones, thence south the champaka tree and the Surangi bush, thence south boundary-line along the hills, thence south lower down the hill-mark a heap of stones, thence south along a line of rock near by a heap of earth; south-east:—the three heaps (of earth) the

<sup>1</sup> Mulika bhumi.

<sup>2</sup> Magilu (magil or magalu means the ridge of a roof).

<sup>3</sup> Ghana is ghana or praghana, which means a mace.

<sup>4</sup> Pandeyare: — pane or panneya means a quarry or ground that is worked.

<sup>5</sup> Mala has no reference whatsoever to any of the Kanarese words, and therefore, I have taken it to mean "mala" a Marathi word meaning "a Garden".

<sup>6</sup> Malava is akin to "malaya" meaning a mountain, a hill.

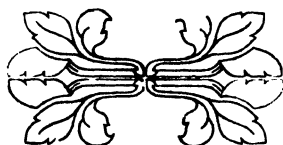
<sup>7</sup> Ashta bhoga. I have taken it to mean "eight rights" as Dr. Fleet and Lewis Rice have done.

<sup>8</sup> I have translated the word "bhavaka" by the word "learned" "bhavaka or bhavuka" means a learned men as in "bhavuka bhavyam Kavya-tatilyol". (*Chandraprabha purana*, 1-58).

<sup>9</sup> I am suspicious about the meaning of the word "Kehetraja" as it is given here. I have translated the words "anamika bhumi" by the words "land used for miscellaneous purposes".

common boundary marks between Turukati and Navidige villages, on the boundary line of the hills from the Nimb tree a heap of stones, near which is a line of Gorava; to the west the boundary between Turukarti and Marmuri villages along the hills the line of stone called Kapota, thence west a tank and a white stone; thence along the hills south-west the three heaps of earth the boundary marks common to Kalla-Navalige, Turukati and Marmuri villages, thence along the hills the boundary between Kalla-Navalige and Marmuri villages, and thence the deer-tank; north the boundary mark between Hahala and Marmuri villages, the heap of stones and earth and the stone; thence north-west the three heaps of earth, the common boundary marks between Hahala and Marmuri villages, the river, the well and the serpent hill, near by the boundary of the hills, thence along the river with its zigzag course. From the river in the east the north-eastern boundary ends.

56-57. Who so takes away a gift made by himself or by another shall be born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.



# Some Colours of Bombay Regiments

By Captain H. Bullock, F. R. Hist. S., Indian Army.

It may be of interest to place on record certain particulars of various colours of regiments of the Old Bombay Army which are to be seen in various churches in the Presidency, or elsewhere. Amongst the reasons which render this desirable are the perishable nature of the flags themselves; the fact that no history of the Bombay Army as a whole has yet been written; and the fact that no book on the regimental colours and standards of the Indian Army has yet appeared. For a great number of the details which follow I am indebted to the kindness of the Chaplains of Churches mentioned.

First, in Bombay itself colours are to be seen in two Churches: St. Thomas's Cathedral and the Afghan Memorial Church at Colaba. In the Cathedral are the colours of the old 3rd Bombay European Regiment, which were deposited there in 1923. This regiment passed from the Hon. East India Company's service to that of the Crown in 1861, receiving the title of 109th Foot. In 1881 it became the 2nd Battalion of the Prince of Wales' Leinster Regiment, which in company with most of the other Irish regiments was disbanded on 31st July, 1922. Next come the colours of the old 12th Bombay Infantry, after 1903 known as the 112th Infantry. Its title was in 1922 changed to 5th Battalion, 4th Bombay Grenadiers; but in the following year the "axe" fell on it and it was mustered out after 125 years faithful service. The third stand of colours, unlike the two already described, is that of a regiment which still exists — its present name being the 1st (Duchess of Connaught's Own) Battalion, 10th Baluch Regiment. In the old days this was the 24th Bombay Infantry and it carried these colours throughout Sir Hugh Rose's campaign in Central India.

In the Afghan Memorial Church, also, there are three sets of colours, one of these being another stand of the old 54th Bombay Infantry. It is evidently the immediate successor of that in the Cathedral, having been presented by Lord

Napier of Magdala, — I do not know in what year—and carried throughout the Second Afghan war. The colours were deposited in the church in 1892. Next come the colours of the old 13th Bombay Infantry, bearing the battle-honours "Egypt", "Kirkee", "Beni Boo Ali", "Central India", "and Afghanistan, 1878-1880". (I have given them in the order in which they stand on the flag). The title of this regiment today is the 10th Battalion of the 4th Bombay Grenadiers: it is a training battalion permanently stationed at Ajmer. The third set of colours at Colaba is that of the old 19th Bombay Infantry, which from 1903 to 1922 was known as the 113th Infantry, and is now linked with several former units of the Bengal Army as the 9th Jat Regiment, of which it forms the 2nd Battalion.

I am not aware of the existence of any other colours at Bombay itself, but at Poona and Kirkee there are a number. The old church of St. Mary's Poona has no less than five sets. Two of these are especially interesting. They are of the old 25th Bombay Infantry, today called the 5th Battalion (Napier's), of the 6th Rajputana Rifles. The earliest of these colours is, so far as I am aware, the oldest military flag to be seen in the Presidency: its age can be fixed within narrow limits by the fact that it has embroidered on it the title "1st Extra Battalion", which was borne by the regiment from 1820 to 1826. It is therefore unquestionably over a hundred years old. Beside it will be seen the stand which succeeded it—that bearing the little of the 25th Bombay Infantry.

The other colours in this church are those of the old 28th Bombay Infantry, deposited in 1888, (the battalion is now merged in the Corps of Bombay Pioneers and no longer carries colours): the old 16th Bombay Infantry, (deposited in 1902), which is now known as the 4th Bn. 5th Mahratta Light Infantry: and the old 1st Bombay Infantry (Grenadiers), which still bears a very similar title. All the colours in this church were encased by Sir George Lloyd in 1923, for their better preservation.

The colours at Kirkee, in All Saints' Church, are those



of the old 23rd Bombay Infantry, today known as the 4th Battalion (Outram's), 6th Rajputana Rifles. There are two sets, and these also were encased through the foresight of Sir George Lloyd in 1923. Until last year (1928) there were two sets of colours at Satara, but when that station ceased to be a military cantonment they were, with the permission of the Bishop of Bombay, transferred to the care of the Mahratta Training Battalion at Belgaum. One was of the old 6th Bombay Infantry, long since disbanded, and the other pair of the old 17th Bombay Infantry, afterwards known as the 117th Mahrattas, and at present entitled the 5th Royal Bn., 5th Mahratta Light Infantry.

Two stands of colours of the old 29th Bombay Infantry are to be seen in churches in Sind. They were raised in 1846, and their original colours are in the chancel of St Thomas's Church at Hyderabad (Sind); whilst a set which immediately replaced these was in 1886 placed over the memorial to a former commandant of the regiment in Holy Trinity Church at Karachi. They are still there, but much perished: practically only the pikes remain.

Many other old colours are of course still in the keeping of the regiments to which they belonged: but these are not usually accessible to public inspection. Information regarding other old Bombay army colours is asked for.



# “Carnāṭe”

By B. A. Saletore, M. A.

While reading the Portuguese accounts of South India one comes across the name “Carnāṭe”, and of the “Queen of Carnāṭe”. This word “Carnāṭe” has been used with much latitude by foreign travellers and writers on South Indian history. Like the words “Canara” and “Carnatic”, with which it has been often confounded, it is the result of that singular mode of adapting Indian names to alien accent so characteristic of foreign people. “By the Carnatic is meant the country in which the Canara or Canarese language prevails, south of the line between Kolhapur and Bidur”<sup>1</sup>. Briggs included “Adony” in the Carnatic<sup>2</sup>. In Yule’s *Cathay*, we have Vincenzo mentioning Carnate, and De Barros saying that it is the same as Carcara and Carnate<sup>3</sup>. Carnāṭe has also been confounded with Carnada. Haidar Ali Khan, we are told by Paolino De San Bartholomeo, reduced under his dominion Maisur, Carnate, Concão, Canara and Calicut<sup>4</sup>. The kingdom of Carnada from the year 1754 to 1762 was the continual theatre of the war carried against each other by the English and French, Haidar Ali Khan and the Nawab of Arcot<sup>5</sup>. Bartholomeo includes Velūr in Carnāṭe<sup>6</sup>.

While commenting on the same word, there is an editorial note to the following effect in the *Travels of Pietro Della Valle*.

“No such place is to be found in modern maps. The name may be used to denote the southern limit of Kanara, also called Carnata or Karnata”<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., III, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 451.

<sup>4</sup> Bartholomeo, *A Voyage to the East Indies*. (Trans. by Wm. Johnston) (M. D. C. C.) p. 8, 63.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 59-60. <sup>6</sup> Ibid., pp. 28, 42 and 60.

<sup>7</sup> Della Valle, *Travels*, I, p. 168, note (1); II, p. 300. (Hakluyt Society Ed.)

We go however to Pietro Della Valle himself and to Fr. Vincenzo to get some clue as to the identification of the little principality on the coast of Western India. On the 9th of December, 1623, Pietro Della Valle travelling along the coast southwards from Barcelore (Basrūr) writes:—

“Half way to Mangalor, not six leagues from Barcelor, we found certain rocks or little desert Islands, which the Portuguese call Scogli de Santa Maria; one of which we approached with our ship, and many of our men landed upon it to take wild pigeons, of whose nests there is great abundance, where with we made a good supper. Afterwards continuing our course, we passed by Carnāṭe, and at night safely entered the Port of Mangalor”<sup>1</sup>.

Over this Carnāṭe there ruled a queen about whose relation with Venkaṭapa Nāyaka of Ikeri we have the following in Della Valle:—

“Venkṭapa Naieka sent a powerful army (in 1623 A.D.) in favour of the Queen (of Ullāl, an ally of the Ikeri King), took all the King of Banghel’s territories, and made them his own, destroying the Fort which was there; he also made prey of diverse other petty lords thereabouts demolishing their strength, and rendering them his tributaries; one of whom was the Queen to Curnāṭ, who was also confederate with the Portugals, and no friend to her of Olala (Ullāl)”<sup>2</sup>. After visiting Kadri, a famous shrine at Mangalore, Pietro Della Valle, on the 18th of December, 1623, prepared “to go to Carnāṭe, to see the Queen whose Territory and City is, as I have said elsewhere, two or three leagues distant from Mangalor, upon the seacoast towards the North. The city stands upon a River which encompasses it, and over flows the Country round about. It was wont to be very strong both by Art and situation, but during the war with Mangalor, Venkṭapa Naieka coming with a great army to subdue and pillage all the countries sent for the Queen to come and yield Obedience to him. The Queen who, as I have heard, is a Lady of much virtue and prudence, being unwilling to rend-

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, *Travels*, II, p. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., II, p. 314.

er herself to Venktapa Naieka, summoned her Captains together, told them that she was ready to spend and give them all the Money and Jewels she had, and not to be wanting on her part to exert her utmost power, if they would prepare themselves to defend the State. But those Ministers, either through Cowardice or Treachery, would not attempt a defence. Whereupon the poor Queen, who as a woman could do little by herself (her Son also being very young), seeing her people dis-heartened, resolved by their advice to surrender herself to Venktapa Naieka; and accordingly prepared to go to him with a good Guard of Souldiers. Hearing which he sent to her to come alone without other company than her Attendants, which she did, not voluntarily but constrained thereto by her hard Fortune, and the treachery of others. Venktapa Naieka received her honourably and took her into his Friendship and Protection; but with all that he caused the City to be dismantled of the strong walls it had, to prevent her rebelling against him afterwards, and left her as before the Government of the state, tying her only to Obedience, the payment of a Tribute, and the profession of an honourable Vassalage to him" <sup>1</sup>.

What happened to the Queen is related thus by Della Valle:—"When they dismantled the City the Queen (they say), unable to endure the sight, retir'd into a solitary place a little distant, cursing in those her solitudes the Pusillanimity and Infidelity of her own people, no less than the bad fortune and weakness of the Portugals, her defenders, to whom she had always been a faithful friend. At this time she lives with her young Son, either in Carnāte or some other place thereabouts" <sup>2</sup>.

Pietro Della Valle desired very much to visit the Queen of Carnāte:—"On the first of January 1624 we set sail from Mangalor towards Goa", continues Della Valle, expressing his regret at not being able to see the Queen, because of the arrival of a Portuguese fleet at Mangalore. "This first day we sailed not above three leagues, and anchored under

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., II, pp. 352-353.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

Carnāte but not in such a place and time that I could go to see the Queen as I desired" <sup>1</sup>.

From Pietro Della Valle we turn our attention to Fr. Vincenzo. Fr. Vincenzo Maria de Santa Catarina in 1656, while going from Mangalore, where he received a hospitable treatment at the hands of a forlorn Indian woman, to the north, says:—

"On the following morning very early we left and not long afterwards we arrived at Banel in the neighbourhood of the sea, where we found many Portuguese busy in their trade, and we had a good opportunity for resting. On the 6th of February we again commenced our journey, and we spent the night in Carnati. And on the following day we passed the fortress of Capo, a very nice place and well-built. next to which there were many temples and bellfries. . . . On the following night we were forced to take shelter in a very vast and beautiful temple where there was a great noise of instruments, songs and shouting that lasted for many hours. On the following morning we passed through Gallianpur, a place well inhabited and rich" <sup>2</sup>.

Before we locate Carnāte, it would be worth while to give two other instances of the indefiniteness with which the word "Carnāte" has been used. In 1702 (January 1) Father Mauduit wrote to Fr. Le Gobien:—"I afterwards went, at the command of my Superiors, to Congivaram, the Capital of the kingdom of Carnāte, and resided there sometime" <sup>3</sup>. In 1705 Fr. Lane wrote:—"It is now seven months since I entered upon the Mission of Carnāte, and have my residence at Tarcolam, a great city up the Inland, about the height of Madras and St. Thomas, being in the Thirteenth Degree of north Latitude. It is about 30 Leagues distant from Pondicherry" <sup>4</sup>.

It is clear that the Carnāte of Pietro Della Valle and Fr. Vincenzo had nothing to do with the Carnāte mentioned

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> Angelo de Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani Nelle Indie Orientali*, pp. 244-249.

<sup>3</sup> Lockman, *Jesuit Travels*, I, p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., III, p. 121.

by the two Fathers, Mauduit and Lane. Della Valle, it must be noted, travelled from north to south, and Fr. Vincenzo from south to north; and they confirm each other in their descriptions. We now proceed with Vincenzo and Della Valle.

Fr. Vincenzo travelled to the north from Banel, and halted at Carnāṭe. Banel is, I believe, the same as Bangel, Banghel, or Bangharvan, the corrupted form of Baṅgar used by the Portuguese, and I locate it at Baṅgara-Kūḷūru, nearly 4 miles north of Mangalore. Banel could not have been very far from Mangalore, for to repeat Vincenzo, "on the following morning very early we left (Mangalore) and not long afterwards we arrived at Banel in the neighbourhood of the sea, etc.". It is true that Banel sounds very much like Maṇel, the place where the Queen of Ullāl̥ resided<sup>1</sup>. But Maṇel, in the Mangalore Taluka, is too far removed in the interior to be near the sea; although, I must confess, this Maṇel has been identified with Maṇjeshwar<sup>2</sup>. It may be argued that Banel could not be Bangel, since the king of Baṅgar resided in a town to the south. Della Valle says, while describing the relations between Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka and the king of Baṅgar that the latter resided at Cognoroto, which is located to the south of Mangalore<sup>3</sup>. Della Valle himself says that it was beyond Mangalore, eastwards<sup>4</sup>. Cognoroto was probably Kānyirōṭu, an abbreviated form of Kanyira Kōṭu" (the place where the *Strychnos nux vomica* trees were grown in plenty)=Kāsargōḍu in Southern Tuḷuva. Pyrard mentions this town in his *Voyages*<sup>5</sup>. If the Baṅgar king resided at Kāsargōḍu, which is to the south of Ullāl̥, how could Banel or Banghel, which is to the north of Ullāl̥, be said to be his seat?

It has to be admitted that the principality of the Baṅgar kings extended over a large part of Tuḷuva, and that "Kā-

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, II, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Eastwick, *Handbook of Madras*, p. 301.

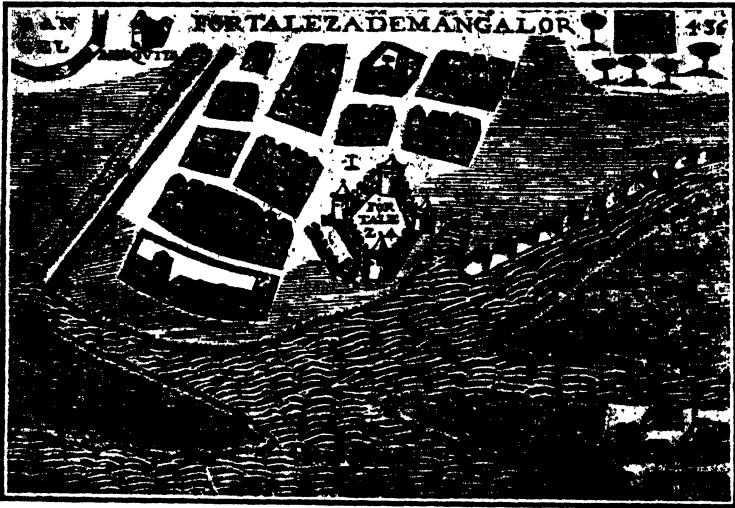
<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, II, p. 286, note (1).

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Pyrard, *Voyages*, I, p. 344. (Gray's Translation)

## Carnate

nyiarōto" might have been one of his seats. But we have an earlier witness in 1569 saying that the Baṅgar territory was to the *north* of Mangalore. In that year the Portuguese Viceroy, Dom Luiz de Atayde "went to Mangalore, twelve leagues to the south, to settle some disputes there which were prejudicial to trade. The disturbances arose from the enmity between the King of Banguel and the Queen of Olala, whose territories lay to the north and south of Mangalore respectively"<sup>1</sup>. Secondly we have Bangel marked to the north of Ullāl, which was the seat of the Chowṭar Queen, in the Portuguese map of the seventeenth century published below.



Map of Mangalore, Ullal and Bangher from Faria y Sousa's  
*Asia Portuguesa* (1674)

Further we have to understand a little of the history of the Baṅgars. The King of Baṅgar married the Queen of Ullāl<sup>2</sup>. But soon the two Tuluva families fell out, and in 1623 on Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka sending a reinforcement to help the Queen

Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, I, 548.

Della Valle, II, pp. 313-315 ff.; Aygal, *Dakshina Kannada*

of Ullāl, as we have just seen, the Baṅgar fort was destroyed, and the Baṅgar territories annexed to the Ikeri kingdom<sup>1</sup>. The ally of the Baṅgar King was the Queen of Carnāṭe; and how the wrath of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka fell on the intrepid Queen, we have also seen. If the Queen of Carnāṭe was an ally of the Baṅgar King, the latter's capital could not have been beyond—to the south of—Ullāl at Kāsaragōḍu. The Baṅgar King would have found it impossible to count upon an ally between whom and himself was the Queen of Ullāl, an ally of Veṅkaṭapa Nāyaka. The Baṅgar King must have had a stronghold to the north of Ullāl, and near enough the principality of Carnāṭe<sup>2</sup>.

One more point may be considered about the impossibility of "Canyirōṭe" being a permanent seat of the Baṅgar power. When the Ikeri and Ullāl forces besieged "Banguel" the need of the Portuguese fleet was keenly felt. The Portuguese Viceroy Dom Jōao Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, sent in 1617 or thereabouts a fleet under Salvador Rebeiro. The latter smelling trouble, with the aid of the Portuguese Commander-in-chief Dom Diogo Coutinho, "took the field against 11,000 natives, whom he defeated with the loss of only six men. The King of that Banguel, or district, who was friendly with the Portuguese, not being able to protect himself against his enemy Ventacaneik, made it over to them for defence, and it was accordingly placed under the command of Antonio de Saldanha"<sup>3</sup>. But "soon after this the Portuguese were attacked by a party of Canarese, and the Viceroy, therefore, sent Francisco de Miranda Anriques with eight vessels and reinforcements". This led to the complete destruction of the Baṅgar fort as above narrated. The point arises:—Where was the seat of the Baṅgar power—to the north or south of Ullāl—that could be attacked by the enemy from the main-land and at the same

*Jilleya Prachina Itihasa*, pp. 276, 278, 299. But Mr. Aygal places this marriage between 1545-56.

<sup>1</sup> Della Valle, II, p. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Varkey, *Historical Papers*, pp. 46-55.

<sup>3</sup> Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, II, p. 199.



time be succoured by the Portuguese from the sea? In all likelihood it could not have been Kāsaragōḍu, a place which could certainly have been attacked from land, but which certainly could not have given any shelter to the Portuguese ships. It must have been a place to the north of Ullāl, and at the same time of easy access to land and sea. It might have been the little hamlet of Urva, or Baṅgra Kuḷūru. The former is too near Ullāl and the latter is the place mentioned by the Portuguese under the name of Bangel or Banguel <sup>1</sup>.

With Banel or Banghel located to the north of Mangalore, the identification of Carnāṭe is to be found out next. We sail with Fr. Vincenzo along the Tuḷuva coast to the north. From Banel Vincenzo easily reached Carnāṭe where they spent the night. From Carnāṭe they reached Capo. This Capo is the Kaup or Kāpi <sup>2</sup>, a seat of the Marda Baḷḷāl family. Hence, according to Vincenzo, Carnāṭe was a place south of Kaup and north of Baṅgra-Kuḷūru, and therefore north of Mangalore.

Six leagues from Barcelore (Basrūr) <sup>3</sup> to the south, Della Valle found the Rocks now known as the St. Mary's Isles. After continuing on their course, Della Valle and his party passed by Carnāṭe and then entered Mangalore. In another place, as we have seen, Della Valle while returning to Goa clearly says that Carnāṭe was two or three leagues distant, from Mangalore towards the north. Hence, according to both Vincenzo and Della Valle, Carnāṭe was about ten miles to the north of Mangalore.

What was the principality that could attract the attention of such a traveller like Della Valle and that was about three leagues to the north from Mangalore? It was Kārṇād, now a māṅṇe of the Mangalore Taluka, about two miles or

<sup>1</sup> M. Aygal, however, derives the name Bangra-Kuluru from the fact of Virabhadra Nayaka having given to Shankara Devi Bangar in S. S. 1563 the little estate of "Kuluru", which was named after the Bangar queen as "Bangra-Kuluru". Aygal o. c., pp. 389-390.

<sup>2</sup> Kaup or the Caup Battery. There is a fine light-house now at Kaup. Sturrock, *S. K. Manual*, I, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Della Valle, o. c., II, p. 297.

<sup>3</sup> Aygal, o. c., p. 345.

so south of Mūlike. (Moolky). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Kārnād (called also Kāras-yārapura) <sup>1</sup> was the seat of the petty chieftans known as the Sāvantas of Mūlky. These Sāvantas governed nine little estates — Ayikaḷa, Attūru, Kuḍattūru, Pañja, Vaḷalanke, Kārnāḍu, Kubeūru, Bappanāḍu, and Tālīpāḍi. <sup>2</sup> One of the rulers of this principality about whom we know nothing was Duggaṇṇa Sāvanta, who was succeeded by his sister Pūjamma. In about 1710 A. D., it is said the ruler of the Mūlike Rājya was Tirumala Sāvanta, son of Pūjamma by Mahālingara Kinyaka, Ballāḷ of Paḍubidire. The treasurer of Tirumala Sāvanta, by name Padmanābha Bhaṭṭa is said to have written the *Padmāvati Mahātmye*, a copy of which, when it will be forthcoming, will enable us to trace the relationship between these Sāvantas, whose goddess was Padmāvati, and the Sāntāras of Humbuchcha on the Ghauts, whose goddess was also Padmāvati of Paṭṭi Pombuchchapura <sup>3</sup>. Mr. Aygal places Tirumala Sāvanta in 1710 A. D., a date which may be said to be rather too far away from the date given to the Queen of Carnāṭe by the Portuguese writers (1623 A.D.). It may be that there were other Queens of Carnāṭe about whom we know nothing for the present. Whether the Queen of Carnāṭe about whom Pietro Della Valle speaks in such liberal terms, was Pūjamma, or whether, and in what way, the Sāvantas were related to the Sāntāras, are questions that are left unsolved for the present, since the Sāvantara family at Moolky can throw no light whatsoever on their past history. But for the present however the Carnāṭe of the Portuguese writers may be taken to mean the Kārnād of Tuluva history.

<sup>1</sup> Aygal, o. c., p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> Aygal, o. c., p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> Aygal, o. c., p. 345. Cf. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 138.

## Queries

7. *In early travel-books, and in the E. I. C. correspondence, one frequently comes across the word baloon meaning a large boat or canoe. Modern editors, following Hobson-Jobson, derive it from a so-called Marathi word Balyanw. But there is no such word as बल्यानव or anything like it in Molesworth's Dictionary, and no Marathi scholar has ever heard of any word of the kind. Can you throw any light in this strange philological puzzle?*

Certain peculiar words used by early foreigners in India have sometimes their origin in the country itself, and one has to look for them among the people connected with the object meant by the word. This word *baloon*, meaning a large boat, is to be found among the people of the western coast of India and more particularly among fishermen and seamen. In point of fact the Kolis of Salsette and Bassein, poor fisherfolk who speak Marathi, use the word बल्याव meaning a sort of a barge. But the language of these fishermen is supposed to be corrupt Marathi. This explains the fact that the word is not found in Marathi lexicons.

8. *The paper on Lord Dalhousie and the Faithful Allies of the British in your last issue appears to be disfigured by numerous mistakes. To take two pages only, pp. 21-22, the Resident, whose name as a matter of fact was Henry Russell, is referred to in line 9 as Russel Henry, and also on p. 21 his name is twice spelt wrong. On p. 22 it is also again twice misspelt, and he is called 'Captain' a rank which he never held so far as I am aware. The writer does not mention, so far as I can trace, either Lee-Warner's Life of Dalhousie or Burton's History of the Hyderabad Contingent, two well known standard works.*

It is quite true that several mistakes crept not only into the pages of the above article, but also into the rest of the JOURNAL. The author of that article, and specially the

Editor of the JOURNAL, deeply regret such deficiencies and expect that this will not happen again.

As regards the rank of Sir Henry Russell, it is true that he was never a Captain; but it is also true that Prof. Lalla on page 22 speaks, not of Captain 'Henry Russell' but of Captain Russell, Sir Henry's brother, who had been himself Resident at Hyderabad prior to Sir Henry from 1809 to 1811. (Cf. Gribble, *History of the Deccan*, II, p. 147) The opinion of Sir Charles Metcalfe, quoted by Prof. Lalla, is taken from Kaye's *Life and Correspondance of Charles, Lord Metcalfe*, I, p. 373. It is there evident that when the writer first speaks of 'Mr. Russell', shortly after the happenings of 1808, he refers to Captain Charles Russell, of whom he says that "he made the Nizam's Contingent too much of a plaything". And then he continues, referring to Sir Henry: "At all events, whilst Henry Russell occupied the Residency, the contingent became, in all essential respects, a British force", etc. (Ibid).

The writer of the above query is also absolutely right in complaining against the different ways of spelling the name of Sir Henry Russell. His surname was Russell, not Russel; and for this slip the Editor of the JOURNAL is very sorry. It is equally bad that "Mr. Henry Russell" should be on p. 21, line 9, turned into Mr. Russell Henry."

The two books on the subject mentioned in the above query were well known to Prof. N. N. Lalla. Their full titles are as follows:-

*The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie K. T.* By Sir William Lee-Warner, K. C. S. I. In two volumes. London, 1904. (pp. XXII, 446, XII, 450).

*A History of the Hyderabad Contingent.* By Major Reginald George Burton. 1st Infantry Hyderabad Contingent (94th Russell's Infantry). Calcutta, 1905. (pp. VI, 320, XC).

As regards Major R. G. Burton's work, Prof. Lalla seems to have found the book not altogether reliable. For instance the author says on p. 25:—"He (Sir Henry Russell) at once drew the attention of the British Government to the state of Berar owing to the turbulence of the Naiks, pointing out that, under the provisions of the treaty, the Subsidi-

diary Force could not be properly employed for their suppression, as it was maintained for the protection of the frontier against external aggression, and not for the reduction of refractory zamindars, or for quelling partial insurrections". This statement of Major Burton seems to be based neither upon facts nor upon documents. On p. 39 of his paper, footnote 3, Prof. Lalla quotes article XVII of the treaty of 1800, which clearly says that the Subsidiary Force was bound to put down all such internal rebellions and disturbances. In fact Major Burton, although he quotes in the appendix of his book a few articles of this treaty (Cf. pp. L and LI) he carefully omits Article XVII, which is the most important one. This fundamental mistake, of not examining *all* the documents, is committed not only by Major Burton but by several admirers of Lord Dalhousie, including Sir William Lee-Warner, who is nevertheless a famous biographer of Lord Dalhousie (Cf. Lee-Warner, o. c., II, p. 122).

As a matter of fact, the work of Sir William cannot be accepted by any student as the best source of available information. It will be useful, for instance, to examine one of the wrong conclusions upon which his account is based.

"The Duke of Wellington," says he, "in the course of his march through the Dekhan met with nothing but chaos. Not only was there no army to assist him, but the Nizam's Government was unable to keep the country free from hordes of banditti. He therefore represented to the British authorities the urgent need for a reform of the Nizam's army, and for the maintenance of a national force to prevent 'annihilation of the Government of the Suba of the Dekhan', while he sternly reprimanded His Highness for acts which savoured more of hostility than of alliance." (Ibid., II, p. 123)

The description of the state of the country is grossly exaggerated in the above quotation. Although the battles of Assaye and Argaum had been won by Colonel Wellesley's forces, *the prestige of the Nizam had been greatly increased* by the fact that the conquest of the Berar Districts, which were now handed over to him, *had been effected by his troops* acting in conjunction with the Subsidiary Force under Colonel Stevenson. (Gribble, *History of the Deccan*,

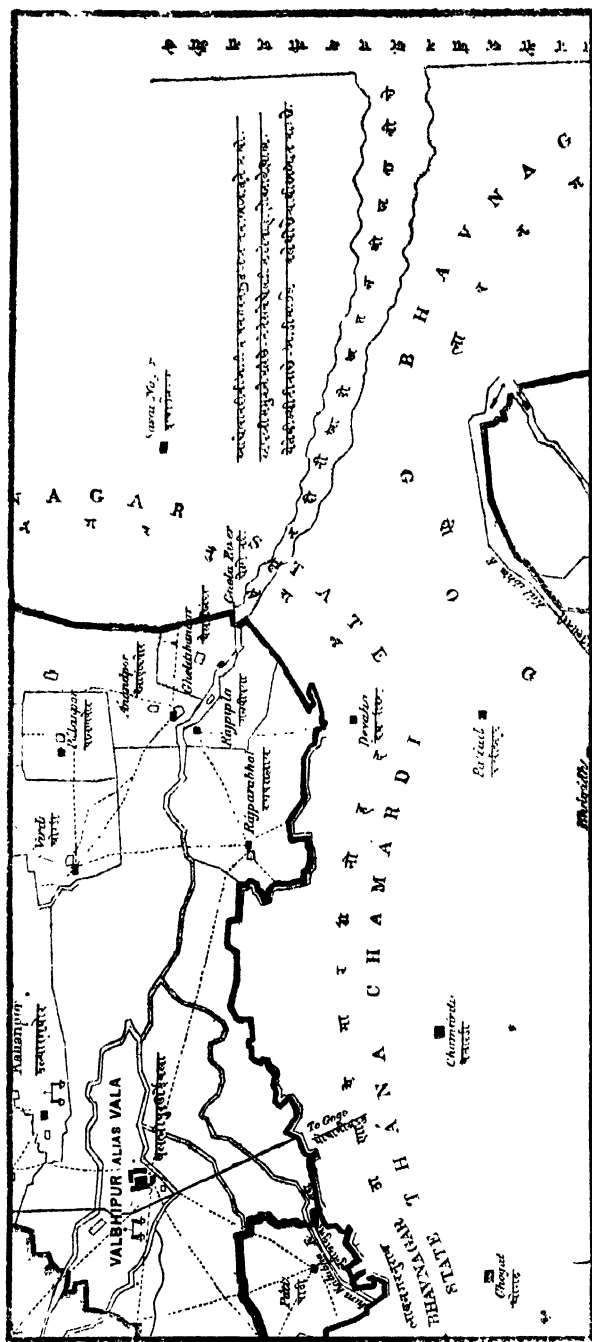
II, p. 140) Again in the words of General Wellesly: "The Mogul Cavalry under Salabat Khan *distinguished* themselves and took a standard from Scindiah's troops". (Burton, o. c., p. 16) Taking for granted that the Nizam's army, in spite of the above facts, was worthless or useless in the war between the British and the Marathas, Sir William Lee-Warner has failed to point out what justification the Company's authorities had for meddling with the affairs of the Nizam against the provisions of the existing treaty.

9. *I read in Altekar's History of Important Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad, p. 39, that according to Alberuni: "The town was destroyed by a naval expedition from Sindh." Is this true; and if so, is the explanation given by Prof. Altekar, that "the creek which once united Valabhi to the sea has since been choked up with silt" absolutely satisfactory?*

It is quite true that Alberuni speaks of "a naval force", which "made a night-attack upon the king Vallabha, and killed him and his people, and destroyed his town". (Translation by Sachau, I, p. 193, not 192). This seems to suggest that the naval force was able to reach the capital of the Valabhis without being noticed. Hence it is evident that this city had a harbour through which the invaders could enter the town.

Now the present town of Vala, identified with the old Valabhi capital since the days of Col. Tod, is far from the sea and even far from the Bhāvnagar creek. The *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 79, rightly remarks that "the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhāvnagar creek when the small Ghelo was probably a fair sized river".

The last surmise of the *Gazetteer* is not properly explained. The adjoining map of the surroundings of Vala will disclose the probable changes in the size and beds of the rivers round this city. Less than a century ago the Kāthuba river—marked in the map as 'Jura Kāthuba R.'—passed very near the capital on the south and joined the Ghela river about one mile east of the same capital. On the old road to



Gogo there is still a bridge over the former bed of the Kāthuba river. Under this bridge there are now cultivated fields. The Kāthuba river at present runs much further south and flows directly into the Bhāvnagar creek. So long as this river joined the Ghela one mile east of Vala, the Ghela was increased in volume before reaching the Bhāvnagar creek. Moreover in the place where the two rivers joined there was naturally a good estuary, where large vessels could anchor in safety. There is still at Vala an old man, 92 years of age, who has loaded and unloaded ships at the confluence of the two rivers. Thus the navy of the Arabs of Sind could reach Vala undisturbed and surprise the king by that sudden night attack.

10. *Has the city of Koṅkaṇāpura, mentioned by Huien Tsiang, ever been satisfactorily identified?*

The identification of this city has long been a hard puzzle to Indian Historians and Geographers. General Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 632 (1924 ed.), identifies it with Anegondi on the northern bank of the Tungabhadra, opposite the ancient site of Vijayanagara; while Fergusson in *J. R. A. S.*, VI (N. S.), p. 267, puts Koṅkaṇāpura on the Mysore plateau, somewhere near the city of Bednur. But neither of these cities was then important enough to be described as the capital of a kingdom.

In order to identify this city, we must consider the route followed by the pilgrim himself, in relation to the political divisions of the south as revealed in the early history of India. Huien Tsiang was then coming from Sīmhala (Ceylon). He crossed the Drāvida country (the Pāṇḍya and Ganga kingdoms); and before arriving at Mahāloka (the kingdom of Pulakēśi II), he crossed the kingdom of Koṅkaṇāpura. By studying the history of those days we find that the kingdom situated between the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and the Gangas and that of the Chalukyas was the Kadamba kingdom. Hence Banavasi, the capital of the early Kadambas, is to be identified as the city of Koṅkaṇāpura visited by Huien Tsiang. Let us examine the account of this city given by the Chinese pilgrim, and we shall see



that his description agrees with the historical conditions in every respect.

1. *Name.* The name Koṅkaṇāpura clearly declares that it was the city of the Koṅkaṇ *par excellence*. Hence the city must have been in the Koṅkaṇ and consequently not far from the sea, as Ānegondi and Bednur are. It is true that Banavasi is not in the Koṅkaṇ proper, but in Haive. Nevertheless Haive was sometimes included in the Koṅkaṇ. (Cf. *E C.*, VII, Sk, 151). Hence Banavasi could rightly be called the city of the Koṅkaṇ.

2. *Situation.* Huien Tsiang before arriving at Koṅkaṇāpura had to traverse "a forest wild, in which are a succession of deserted towns, or rather little villages" (*Beal Records of the Western World*, II, p. 253). After leaving Koṅkaṇāpura on the way to Mahāloka, the pilgrim entered "a great forest wild, where savage beasts and robbers inflict injury on travellers" (*Ibid.*, p. 255). This shows that the city of Koṅkaṇāpura was surrounded by a thick forest, which is a characteristic feature of the neighbourhood of Banavasi even now-a-days. The forest of South Kanara to the north of the city, and that of Sorab to the south, are among the best forests of India.

3. *Buddhism.* The pilgrim says that "there are about 100 saṅghārāmas with some 10,000 priests" in the kingdom. "By the side of the royal palace," he continues, "is a great saṅghārāma with some 300 priests, who are all men of distinction. This convent has a great vihāra, a hundred feet and more in height." "By the side of the city is a great saṅghārāma in which is a vihāra about 50 feet high. In this is a figure of Maitreya Boddhisattva carved out of sandal wood" (*Ibid.*, p. 254). Now if we are to believe the *Mahāvāṇsa*, after the third convocation of the Buddhists in Magadha, during the time of the Maurya supremacy, the thera Rakkhita was sent to Vanavasi (*sic*) to preach the doctrine of Gotama. His efforts were so successful that sixty thousand persons embraced the new faith, and thirty-seven thousand were ordained priests (*Mahāvāṇsa*, transl. by Wijesinha, p. 47-48). There is undoubtedly some exaggeration in these figures; but the spread of

**Buddhism round Banavasi** at the time of Huien Tsiang has, no doubt, an historical explanation in the chapters of the Ceylonese chronicle.

4. *Government.* The Chinese pilgrim does not mention the ruler of this kingdom, as he does in his account of other kingdoms, but refers to the royal palace (Beal, o. c., II, p. 254). It looks therefore as if Koṅkaṇāpura was a kingdom without a king. Yet the memory of the king was still fresh, as Huien Tsiang speaks of the royal palace. All these circumstances agree wonderfully with the history of the Kadambas of Banavasi in those early days. The Aihole inscription of Pula-kēśi II mentions Banavasi as one of the conquests of that Chalukya King. *E. I.*, VI, p. 9. Bhōgivarma seems to have been the Kadamba King defeated on this occasion. It is natural that the pilgrim should speak of the kingdom and of the royal palace, but should omit any mention of the king who perhaps was dead or at least dispossessed of his kingdom.

Against this identification it may be argued that Huien Tsiang when leaving Drāvida in order to reach Koṅkaṇāpura "travelled northwards" (Beal, o. c., II, p. 253); and then from Koṅkaṇāpura to Mahāloka, and to its capital Badami, he travelled "north-west." If Koṅkaṇāpura is identified with Banavasi, he would have to travel first north-westwards and then north-eastwards. To this it may be answered that these geographical details of Huien Tsiang are not accurate enough to afford a basis for any argument. Thus when leaving Malva "going north" he arrives at the capital of the Valabhis; yet in fact that capital is not precisely north of Malva, but north-west (Beal, o. c., II, p. 266.) Hence there is nothing in the above argument to tell against our conclusion that Koṅkaṇāpura is Banavasi, the capital of the early Kadamba kingdom.

# Monumenta Historiae Indiae

## Extracts from the Dutch Diaries of the Castle of Batavia

### VI

*Dagh-Register | gehouden int | Casteel Batavia | vant  
passerende daer ter plaetse als over geheel | Nederlandts-  
India | anno 1661. | Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch van  
Kunsten en Welenschappen, met | medewerking van Ne-  
derlandsch-Indische Regeering en onder toezicht | van | Mr.  
J. A. Van der Chijs | Batavia | Landsdrukkerij | 's Hage | M.  
Nijhoff | 1889*

#### [Dutch Attack against Portuguese Fleet off Goa]

[5] The Wingurlase despatches and those from the commander Roothaes, of the fleet before Goa, to Their Excellencies mentioned above, dated 28th and 30th October, announce that he, the commander, with the same fleet with which he had gone thither on the 4th September, 1660, arrived there on the following 12th October and immediately laid one galleon in ashes, and of six frigates, which came to help it, had captured two, destroyed two, and put to flight the other two, the above mentioned galleon being bound for Europe, without any help being heard of from Portugal; further that the Goans were also very surprised that we came there again as they had not expected us. . .

#### [News from Kanara and the Deccan]

That four ships further were sent out to sea, the yacht, "de kat," which was to go to Kanara to force a way for the big ship "de Gecroonde Leeuw", for loading of rice, although Sivapaneyk had died there, and that the other ships were to go cruising before Chaul and Bombain; that besides the Portuguese in the town of Goa are at loggerheads with each other; that the English gentleman is still kept in Collapour; that the Queen of Visiapour very insistentlly

demands to have one of the Company's ships, to go with it to Mocha, from where she intended to go to Mecca to go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Mahomet, and that they promised her a passage on one of the Company's ships, which, passing there from Tayonan, would go to Gamron.

**[Internal News of the Dutch East India Company]**

[40] In the parcel described above were found a despatch written by the governor, Laurens Pit, and His Highness at Palleacatte, dated the 6th and 8th of January, 1661, to their Excellencies, as well as another despatch dated the 14th of the same month, from the Company's ministers, residing at Tegenapatnam, also addressed to His Highness, with an enclosure from the commander Adriaen Roothaes, in the fleet before Goa, and another one from the resident Pieter van Santvliet at Wingurla, addressed to His Honour and Highness, dated 26th and 31st October, 1660, which Governor Pit had received by land from there on the 26th November following, but we have received the copies of them already long time ago.

The aforesaid Governor Pit writes in his above mentioned despatch that the Director Ryklof van Goens had, on behalf of Seylon, asked for several loads (lasten-2000 kg.) of rice from Orixá and fifty thousand lds. of gunpowder from Palleacatte; whereupon Governor Pit made a rough calculation that Jaffenapatnam could be provided with 300 and Seylon with 200 or 300 loads; and had sent 20,000 lds. of gunpowder to Ceylon by the small yacht "de Romeyn", which arrived there from Ceylon on the 23rd October, the remaining 30,000 lds. were to follow, as soon as the saltpeter cleared the ship "de Wolvisch" at Maslupatnam, should arrive at Palleacatte...

**[Alliance between the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore]**

The neyk (chief) of Tansjouwer had returned to his capital Tansjouwer, and had demanded the remaining donation from our men residing at Negapatnam; but they courteously refused. Afterwards news arrived that the neyks of Madure, Tansjouwer and Lingemaneyk had concluded a

treaty with the rebellious chiefs of Visiapour, Sahagie and Anthosie Pantoeloo, to help each other against any force from outside. So that he will probably go on the stronger...

### **[Shivaji Defeats the Bijapur Army]**

There was also a rumour that the rebel Siwasi, being the son of the aforesaid Sahagie, of whom full particulars have been given in the Wingurlase reports of the previous years, beat the general Molla Mahamadoe, with the Lieutenants Babulchan and Ajapaneyk, near Visiapour and took 2000 horsemen prisoner. Our men tried to get exemption from the aforesaid neyk from half the tolls of the suburb of Nagepatnam. The influx of serfs was being checked there. There was also a shortage of rice, but Governor Pit had given orders for Negatpatnam to be supplied with 150 loads.

### **[Shahaji on the Coromandel Coast]**

The people of the aforesaid Sahagie had on the 25th December, 1660, laid siege to the town of Tegenepatnam, with the result that the Company's business was at a standstill there, but [41] the residents hoped nevertheless to have 200 bales of carpets ready for Batavia about the middle of February. The "gaffel chaloup" (kind of ship) sent from Paleacatte to Nagepatnam, has been on the 25th of this month to Tegenepatnam and went on from there, but sailed wrong at the Coleronse Reef, owing to bad seamanship, broke itself to pieces, and the sailors were taken prisoners by the people of the fort Duvekotty, but afterwards set free with the exception of one corporal, whom the governor of the aforesaid fort had taken as hostage together with some goods from the ship.

### **[Peace between Bijapur and Shivaji]**

[96] The kingdom of Visiapour has not quite recovered from the losses sustained in the inland war. The King having arrived with an army before the fort Pannala came to terms with the great rebel Siwasi....

**[Salabat Khan Rebels against Bijapur]**

But the general Sohaer Salabetchan, after he has been favoured by His Majesty with the dominion of all the lower lands of Visiapour, among which Wingurla is also included, and has been sent with the biggest party of the army to Canara to fight Ventapaneyk or to extort a large sum of money from him, returned with his army when on the way, owing to some grievance which he felt, to the town of Racassy Tangaddy, situated about fourteen miles from Visiapour, where he declared that he was not a servant of the King, but a Mogol captain, and on that account disowned all standards and colours of the kingdom, replacing them with [97] new ones after the Mogol fashion. In the meantime he had sent a new havildar or governor to Wingurla, called Miersa Fatan Molouc. The latter arrived at Wingurla on the 15th November, but owing to the treachery of Salabetchan described above, was prepared for hourly flight, so that Chavescan will apparently again be favoured with his village...

**[Relations between Bijapur and the Dutch]**

The old Queen had informed our men that she would leave Visiapour in the month of January to complete her projected voyage to Persia, with the request that they would keep a ship ready for that object about that time. The King, her son, has sent to our men residing at Wingurla authority by which they were exempted from tolls, which the Governors have extorted from us for three years already on the buying and transporting of cows on behalf of, and for the use of, the fleet. But none of the subaltern governors would acknowledge this authority, on the excuse that they had received no instructions from their respective masters.

**[Dutch Trade on the Kanara Coast]**

The yacht, "de cat", left the fleet before Goa for Colombo on the 17th December, 1660, with the cargo shipped in the yacht "Weesp" at Gamron and Suratte for Ceylon and unloaded therefrom by commander Roothaes. The re-

sident at Wingurla has taken in hand the consignment to Canara, in accordance with Their Excellencies' order, and with that object has sent the sub-merchant, Leendert Leendertz. The latter has departed in the above mentioned yacht, "de Gat", to Wingurla, to be put ashore en route at Bassalore, taking with him the letters for the new King Ventapaneyk, as well as for Badreppaneyk and Malappa Maloe, a present of 100 lbs. nails, 140 lbs. nuts, 60 lbs. mace and 24 @ red cloth: besides for the buying of rice 6000 pagodes cash. The Governor Ryklof van Goens had now sent the treasurer Lucas van der Dussen on the 24th of October, 1660, with the yacht "Hoogelande" from Colombo also to Canara, with orders to collect 1500 loads of rice for, and on behalf of, the island of Ceylon; with the result that the aforesaid sub-merchant and van der Dussen will drop anchor outside Bassalore at about the same time, namely Leendert Leendertz on the 20th, and van der Dussen on the 24th of December.

Afterwards the ship "de Gekroonds Leeuw" from the fleet before Goa followed, about the middle of January. In addition also the fly ship "Elburg" and the yacht "de Sterre" from Seylon. All the ships having received rice cargo, again departed from there, viz. the "Gekroonde Leeuw" to Batavia and the other to Seylon.

#### [Relations between Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikeri and the Foreign Traders.]

King Ventapaneyk had promised our men that if the Company bought all the rice imported in this country, he would then prohibit the Portuguese from buying from the people in his land. He said that the Portuguese came there the year before with a present of about 3,000 pagodes to make peace with him, but they had settled nothing; and also that they would never come to peace so long as the Company kept to the terms of the contract. He also said that the English had tried last year [98] to establish a resident in his land, with the promise to accept his pepper, but that he had not agreed to it on account of the aforesaid contract made

with the Company. The sub-merchant Leendert Leendertsz had noted in his journal under the date of 25th December, 1660, that he was given to understand that Bernardo Coreo, who is mentioned above, has captured at the mouth of the river of Bassalor with his 9 war-frigates a certain patache (ship) coming from Rusquette, for no other reason than that it was flying the prince's flag, taking out of it 2 pieces of ordnance, 22 muskets, all the gunpowder that there was, 2 anchors, 8 barrels of red betel, 1 mast, 7 sailors and some cash. Some of these sailors he also forcibly converted to X'ty; and that Ventapaneyk being annoyed over it, had detained a white priest, who was travelling by land from Cochin to Goa; and in addition still kept back the 7 war-frigates, which had in the previous year arrived in the river of Bassalore from his brother Sivapaneyk, which the latter had intended to send to Goa. But from his despatch we see that on the letter written by the Brahman Quothary from Goa to Kalappa Katoe, in which he announced that he would come as ambassador from the state of Goa to Ventapaneyk, the aforesaid white priest was set free again, and the Portuguese factor who had been resident in Canara, named Ferdinando de Korais, had gone from there to Goa. He is certain that Ventapaneyk had always been a good friend of the Portuguese before this. After the death of his brother Sivapaneyk, he twice wrote to the Goanese, announcing that he was quite willing to arrange peace between them both without informing them of his brother's death. Whereupon the Goanese after the receipt of the last letter planned, so it is said, to send the Brahmin Ramajie Quothary thither with a fair present, and that he was hourly prepared to start with all speed. Thereupon the resident at Wingurla, before the departure of the sub-merchant Leendert Leendertsz over to Palleacate by land, wrote to Ventapaneyk and Malappa Maloe and requested them to prevent the inhabitants from going out to Goa, and to send the rice imported in their land with private inland boats to Seylon. They did not altogether refuse, but asked for several convey ships from us, to protect these boats from the Malabar pirates, as the Portuguese had always done previously, and the merchant



Malappa Maloe also stated to be necessary, in his letter written to the General and now received here.

### [Dutch Trade on the Kanara Coast]

The aforesaid sub-merchant is of the opinion that it would not be amiss to have a handy yacht ready on the Canarase Coast for this purpose, whereby there would be a better opportunity of sending the rice ship to Seylon under different pretexts. One should also be able to insure thereby that all those who wished to sail without a convoy to Banda, Wingurla and other places lying north of Goa must be supplied with a private badge or seal to be affixed by the Commanders of the aforesaid cruising yacht on the passports which they had received from our men on land; provided they would also present the same seal to our fleet before Goa. The same Leendersz writes that he had made a contract with 99 Malappa Maloe for 1200 loads of rice at 13 Canarase pagodes or 26 old Spanish reals per load, which is a high price and is due to the fact that the shop-keepers inland had made an agreement with each other against the arrival of our men to fix the market for us, since there lie there several pataches from Surat, which are to go to Surat with rice, besides about 40 frigates for Musquette, where the shop people in the previous monsoon received an advance of one cent on their rice; again that the Company should make consignment for Seylon. Moreover the aforesaid Malappa failed to demand from us 5 to 7 rds. above the market rate for every load of rice, but Leendersz is of opinion that when one advances money to country people against their crop, the rice should then be a better bargain, because the people have to pay their taxes to the king in rice, owing to lack of cash, and the king takes this up at whatever price pleases him; and he being overstocked with it will be ready to sell the same to the merchants.

The aforesaid van der Dussen has once again been with the yacht "Hoogelande" in the fleet before Goa and at Wingurla, bringing with them more than 300 Canaryns and Toepassen, who were besieged in Seylon, to be put on shore

at Wingurla, And en route he left on shore at Bassalor the sub-merchant Dirik van Dam, besides the assistants Joannes Ryswerker and Govert de Bruyn, to collect two or three thousand loads of rice for Seylon.

The above mentioned Leendert Leendertsz writes further in his journal, that he, coming from Bynour, situated 5 miles from Bassalor, had found the Yacht "Suratte", belonging to the money-changer Mondas Nalu, and on her as commandant a Dutch mate, commonly known as Kees de Boer, who said that he had come with her from Achin and was going to Surat passing through Goa. In addition during his stay in Bassalor a frigate arrived there on the 17th January, 1661, from Musquette, belonging to king Ventapaneyk and carrying 44 horses and several troughs.

[121] We have mentioned above under the heading "Malabar" that the yacht Veicland had been sent on the 12th March from Calecoulang to Canara to bring rice. The vessel Elbury, which had also been sent again there from Colombo on the 7th of the said month of March, arrived at the fleet of Mr. van der Meyde and went further on the same day. Also the yacht Hercules had left from Seylon to Canara. The fiscal van der Dussen had brought from there per yacht Hoogelande a letter to Seylon written by the King of Canara Ventapaneyk to the General on the 3rd January, 1661. The translation from Portuguese is literally inserted and a diamond ring was added as a present, which has also arrived here.

### [Prospective Dutch Attack against St. Thome]

The director van Goens will go at the end of May from Colombo via Gale to Jaffenapatnam in order to make arrangements at St. Thome. After that he will visit the Cormandel coast and then sail to Batavia via Malacca. He hopes to be in Batavia about the middle of November. He and [122] the Governors van der Meyde and Pit all agree that this is a suitable time to attack St. Thome, before our country makes peace with the king of Portugal. The Director and Governor van der Meyde ask whether the town must be

kept after the conquest or whether it must be left again, or delivered to the king of Golconda. They say that if the town is delivered, the king will perhaps allow the Portuguese or English again to settle there. If the town is kept, Mr. van der Meyde thinks for several reasons that the seat of the Cormandel Government should be transferred from Pallea-catte to St. Thome. But Governor Pit on the contrary maintains that Pallea-catte is better situated for the purpose of the Company than St. Thome, however without giving any reasons.

The wife of the said Director Ryklof van Goens has also arrived here per said yacht Hogelande.

### [Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikeri and the Dutch]

Now follows the letter written by the King of Canara to the general:—

To the illustrious and fortunate Mr. Joan Maetsuyker, Viceroy of Batavia and of the Dutch Empire, I, Ventapaneyk, King of Quedy, send my greetings as to a friend.

I have received the letter from your Excellency, and am glad to note that you have ordered Mr. Ryklof van Goens to come to these districts to fulfill the contract closed with Leendert Janssen, but so far he has not been able to carry out his war plan, but he promises to do so afterwards. However because he did not know yet when he would finish everything, and because he intended to go to Cochin, he has sent to us captain Lucas van der Dussen; which gentleman has seen me and has spoken again about the first contract and has established here his office to carry on the trade and I hope our relations with them will be as desired. Mr. van der Dussen, who came from Seylon, and Leendert Leendertsz, who came from Wingurla, have also discussed with us the point that the merchants should be prohibited from sending rice from here to Goa, because you are besieging Goa. And considering the favourable reports about this siege I feel very much inclined towards Your Excellency, whom God may save for many years, and I agree to their proposal. From our side we shall keep the contract literally. And we have

sent orders accordingly to your office, as you will have heard from Mr. van der Dussen and from the letters of Malappa Maloe. The two elephants which Your Excellency has sent me as a present were not necessary, considering the good friendship and unanimity that exists between us. However because Your Excellency sends them so cordially I have accepted[123] them with pleasure. I am sending herewith a small counterpresent.

Next to this was written: Bidroure, 3rd January, 1661, and signed by the King Ventapaneyque.

### **[Difficulties of the Dutch on the Coromandel Coast]**

[126] Our men at Negapatnam complain very much about the lack of provisions because a trading ship from Bimelepatnam (mentioned before) had not yet arrived. Therefore they had to borrow 6 lasts of rice from the Danish friends at Trangenbare, who had received ample supply from 2 or 3 of their vessels which had arrived. And before that, Governor Pit had sent them another 6 lasts on the 4th January...

### **[Alliance between the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore and Shahaji]**

The Neyks of Madura and Tansjowver and the Commanders Sahagie, Antosie Pontele and Lingamaneyk have met to conclude an offensive and defensive contract, which is a serious thing to us. And therefore the Governor has excused the intended visit of the Maslupatnam settlement. But afterwards the Governor was informed that the contract mentioned had been cancelled and that the Neyks had secretly conferred to attack Sahagie...

### **[Disturbances in the kingdom of Tanjore]**

In the meantime the Neyk of Tansjowver cannot keep order amongst his subjects. For only recently, on the 1st February, his adigaers have held up one of the old suppliers to the Company from Carcal and have extorted 5500 par-daux from him. Thereby the caul that had been passed has

been violated, as it mentions that native merchants dealing with the Company may not be troubled or asked for money. There are also rumours that the Neyk of Tansjowver may go and besiege Trangenbare to collect forcibly from the Danes the 40 thousand pardaux which he claims from them. The Danes therefore are intently on the lookout every night in the castle and from the points of the town, and have already engaged some black soldiers for their protection. They further say that he will also have the roads and entrances to the town Negapatnam occupied in order to cut off all supply from the country and thus obtain the money promised. Our men there are therefore also well on the lookout, but they need not fear the enemy in the least; because it is impossible to keep a big army together for a long time in this expensive time. The town is also strongly enough protected to resist the enemy...

#### [Shahaji on the Eastern Coast]

We further note from the letter of Governor Pit written to Seylon (which we have already mentioned several times before) that Sahagie's men have looted the town Carnal a few days before the letter was closed, and that they had robbed the inhabitants of not less than 1700 pardaux. Although he was short of cash the Governor has sent 3000 p<sup>a</sup> to Negapatnam to pay the garrison there.

The war round the fort Tegenapatnam is finished and the fort has been delivered to Sahagie's men on the 4th February; so that Tegenapatnam and the premises of the Company are now under command of Sahagie. This looks serious but the Governor does not believe that he will trouble us, because he is aware that the Company can rely on the strong forces at Porto Novo, which would make his profits useless. It would be possible to transfer the trade to Paelesere, about 4 miles from Tegenapatnam, and to leave the premises at Tegenapatnam under supervision of an assistant and 3 or 4 soldiers; but the merchants would not dare to come, out of fear for Sahagie; and Kistapaneyk, who is upper-regent of Paelesere, would not be able to protect us

against him, so that [127] discharging cargo et Paeleser would only cause trouble to the Company...

**[Internal Affairs of the Dutch East India Company]**

The arrested Dutchmen from the stranded jolly-boat had already been on their way to Negapatnam, but have returned to Tegenapatnam, because the captain of the boat wanted 5 pagodes passage-money for each man which they could not give. And corporal Smit, who alone had been left at Duvecotty, has now also left hoping that the goods will soon follow. The soldier Gerrit Verhagen, who had previously been lent to the Danish friends, has returned in the service of the Company on the 15th January. After the ship "the Walvis" had left, the Governor has supplied the residents at Tegenapatnam with sycee silver at  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  and with abacys at 6% loss, which they again sold to Golconda merchants for pagodes delivery within a few months with another  $5\frac{5}{8}\%$  loss. And although this has considerably checked the demand for silver at Maslupatnam, we shall have to go on with it till more gold or ducats are provided. It would be good if the coast could get a yearly supply of 7 or 8 tons gold which would bring silver on a higher price level.

**[Relations between the Dutch and the Nayak of Tanjore]**

[169] The present for which the Neych of Tansjouer has asked may be delayed for two or three years, but if we are forced to give it we shall have to adapt ourselves to the time...

**[Internal Affairs of the Dutch East India Company]**

The transfer of the trade from Tegenapatnam to Poelesere does not appear strange to His Excellency in order to avoid the intestine troubles. Therefore the offer of Kistapaneyk will also be considered. About saving our people who have stranded with the jolly-boat on the rocks of Colleron, His Excellency says that the shore-rights which we have there must be maintained. The debts that are outstanding in

Pegu must be collected. The distraint levied on the goods of the late Mondas Naen of Suratta in order to recover his debts to the Company is approved of. A report is expected about the iron bullets round and long-sharp, also some iron bar as a sample. The order of the Gentlemen dated 17th to mention the reduction of Indian coins, measures, weights, etc. in the letters and invoices is recommended. The wife of the assistant Hendrik Outhoorn and her sister are also sailing by this boat to be stationed at Paleacatte or Nagenapatnam.

**[Relations between the Portuguese and Venkatapa  
Nayaka of Ikeri]**

[214] The Bramine Ramagie Quothary who would go to Canara as the representative of the Portuguese of Goa, as mentioned already above on page 98, has proceeded there in the beginning of this year to obtain release of the 7 vessels that had been seized, and to enter into an alliance with Ventapaneyk. Thereupon 21 vessels arrived in the river of Sulseek full of rice from Canara, together with a letter from this representative that many proas were lying ready there to proceed to Goa with rice, and that therefore people in Goa need not be afraid of shortage of food. Moreover Bernardo Correo, who has been mentioned above several times, had brought 16 vessels with rice in the said river on his return from Cananor. However "regents" decided to send a Portuguese to Canara with 25 thousand cherefyns, which they had borrowed from Francisco de Lima, to buy another big quantity of rice. And they have also ordered from the Northern districts as much rice as could be got, without considering the price.

**[British Trade in Bijapur]**

[215] About the English the resident writes that since his last advice they have bought no merchandise in the Vi-siapore kingdom; but that they [216] have sold most of their goods against cash except some cloth, for which there is no market. For the proceeds they have also paid off their debts . . .

**[British help Bijapur against Shivaji]**

They have not yet received refund for the ammunitions supplied to the King of Visiapore for the war against the rebel Siwasi. But on the other hand they have suffered a lot of inconvenience from this rebel . . .

**[Shivaji Conquers Rajapur]**

For as soon as the old Queen had left for Mocha, Siwasi had appeared again and remembering the losses which he had suffered by the English, he sent out 1000 horsemen and about 3000 footmen about the middle of March to capture the town of Ragiapour. When this army appeared before the town, they ordered the leading citizens that they should come out to accompany them into the town according to the custom of the country. They promised that no harm would be done to them. The artless people not thinking of anything wrong went out to meet them; amongst them were also the English resident, Revington and 2 or 3 other Englishmen, who also wanted to honour them. But all of them were arrested at once and their money was extorted from them forcibly and under many tortures. Revington and the men who were with him were imprisoned in one of Siwasi's fortresses and all the other Englishmen who had stayed at Ragiapour were also arrested and one of them was tortured to death. Their premises were completely looted; even the floor was broken up everywhere in order to find everything of value. These robbers have also robbed many foreign merchants who came every year with their goods to Ragiapour from Persia and Musquete and who were returning home after completing their business. A certain Ragie and several others have taken up the arms against them, but Siwasi's men being satisfied with the booty have gone further up without awaiting the counter attack . . .

**[Movements of British Ships]**

The English yatch "Concordia" with some Moor travellers from Bengal to Persia has dropped anchor under the fortress d' Aguade for taking in drinkwater, refreshments



and arrach, together with another yacht, the name of which the resident does not mention. Our people had visited that place just before. We read above from the Bengal advices (page 45), which were received here on the 26th February, that the the English ships "East-Indian Merchant" and "Concordia" have left in the end of December, 1660, from Bellesor via Cormandel bound for England. And from the Coromandel advices, which were received on the 16th May, we read on page 129 that the "Eastindian Merchant" has sailed on the 7th February from Paleacatte to England; and that the "Concordia" has passed Paleacatta on the 19th January bound for Gamron. These are apparently the same ships which are mentioned here. Commander Roothaes has sold a certain empty vessel at the request of the captain in charge, who had captured it from the Malabars along the Indian coast. It was sold at Wingurla for account of the Company by public auction, and the proceeds (Rs. 750) will be remitted to the English President in Suratte.

**[Failure of Portuguese Embassy to Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikeri]**

[219] And we received by this ship the original letter from the resident Pieter van Santvliet of Wingurla to His Excellency, dated 28th April, duplicate of which we received yesterday; and also another letter from the same resident, dated 16th May, in which he informs us that the ambassador Ramagie Quothary had returned on the 27th April from Canara to Goa, however without having made a definite peace. Ventapaneyk wanted the Portuguese to buy the pepper in his country at the fixed price, as they had done before. The 7 seized frigates had been released, but Quothary had left them behind as they were absolutely decayed and would only be useful as fire-wood.

**[Failure of Relations between Dutch and Danish at Tranquebar]**

[316] The Castle keeper has replied to this that he had to claim the "guarand" of the king of Denmark from the Moors until he had given satisfaction and content to His

Majesty mentioned. The Governor thereupon asked him by letter not to use our people, who had only been lent for protecting his fortress, [317] for such assaults or robbing-expeditions against the Moors. But he replied that our men drew their salaries from the King, and that it was therefore fair that they served outside as well as inside and wherever they were needed. And if the Governor did not like this he could give orders where his men were to be sent. Governor Pit therefore withdrew sergeant Abraham Baert and the 5 Dutch soldiers from the service of the Danes, so that they came from Trangenbare to Nagepatnam. The said castle keeper had also written that in the year 1657 he had complained to Mr. van Goens about a thony-boat of the inhabitants of Trangenbare, which was lying ready at Manar to sail to Trangenbare with a cargo of 12 bars "saye" or paint and some other merchandise to the value of 500 pardaux, which His Excellency, had ordered to be burnt, without regarding the colours of the king of Denmark which were flying out from that boat, and that he would give notice of this incident to His Majesty in due course. In the meantime the Danes have been cruising in July last with their said yacht near Alembrue. It seems that they were after 2 vessels which they knew were in the harbour of Jaffenapatnam, and they had already searched a certain vessel owned by people of Palleacatte and coming from Jaffenapatnam and had asked at the same time about the Bengal vessels. But hearing that one of them had already sailed from Maslupatnam they went first to Covelon and from there to Trangenbare. The said Melkbeck has also lost another vessel bound for Maslupatnam, which by adverse winds had been drifted in the direction of Tanassery. Four men of the crew were saved and had arrived at Belleroor. He was troubled very much by the nabab to give an account of his former administration.

**[Alliance between the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore  
against Shahaji]**

[320] After spending a short time in his capital the neyck of Tansjowver has left there again and has placed himself under the protection of the neyck of Madura in the

office of the Company from Tegenepatnam, to Poelesera is automatically cancelled. For as long as the Jentyvs remain master in the Sigier province and when they have taken the castle of Tegenepatnam, it is best that the residence should remain at Tegenepatnam, especially because there is no government at Poelesera which could protect the Company against possible looting or violence from outside the town.

### **[Duch Trade on the Eastern Coast]**

As soon as Sahagie had been driven back into the interior, people at once noticed more activity in the trade at Tegenepatnam. The cloths have since been in better supply. On the other hand the war between Lingamaneyke against Sahagie has caused such a panic in Porto Novo that the leading inhabitants of the country have fled and are staying on the ships, so that perhaps this year nothing will be sent from there to other places. Governor Pit has therefore not been asked yet for passports from Porto Novo to Malacca, Queda and Achin, except by Armoeta Chitti for his ship which will sail to Malacca, and which passport we shall give him provided he first pays the Company the value of the goods taken from the stranded jolly-boat which he has readily bought from the robbers. The said jolly-boat has got in the sand on the Colleron riff so badly, that nothing can be saved from her anymore. And of the few things that have been saved Sahagie would only give 56 pieces of canvas cover, some cooking pots and some lamps.

The merchant Joannes Pit, who had been living as manager of the Company at Tegenepatnam has died on the 8th July; and the undermerchant Isaak Welsing has been put in charge, who has a fair experience of the trade there. Also lieutenant Albert Hetterson, chief of the police at Nagepatnam, has died in May and someone from Paleacatte has been sent there to replace him.

### **[Dealings between the Sultan of Golkonda and the European Nations]**

[324] There is no doubt about it, that the King has accepted the protection of the Portuguese fearing the

fortress Siretenapalle. And after these two rulers had made an alliance, the Commander Lingamaneyk has proceeded in the end of June with an army of 40 thousand footmen and 2000 horsemen to Sillenbron, 2 miles south of Porto Novo, where Sahagie was lying in camp and daily robbed the province of Tansjowver. Before taking up the arms Lingamaneyk tried to have a conference with him, but seeing that he was short of water he drove him out from there and from several other castles into the interior. The robber therefore retreated to his strong fortress Arny, whilst every day he retreated further into the interior. The young Amberchan or his tutor Antosie Pontele, who is still staying in the capital Singior, has promised to deliver the castle Arni to the neyk of Madura if Sahagie is driven out from there. If this could be done, the bigger part of the province Singier would be freed of the Visiapour Moors. The castle of Tegenepatnam which is also occupied by Sahagie's men has so far been left alone by Lingamaneyk, because he had to follow up Sahagie closely. In the meantime he has written to Governor Pit that as soon as he has driven out Sahagie, he will send forces to Tegenepatnam to release the son of the neyk of Tansjowver and two other sons of 2 certain Gentyf nobles, who are being kept there as hostages by Sahagie's men. [321] He promises that he will see to it that our people residing there will not be troubled by the soldiers. On the other hand the Governor is afraid that the Moors, if they see an army marching against them, will pilfer the premises of the Company, especially as they keep a "champan" ready either to flee if necessary or to abduct the said hostages. Therefore the Galleon "Tayoun" will remain for some time in front of Tegenepatnam to safeguard the capital which the Company has got there. It is apparent that the ruler of Tansjowver, when he will have completely recovered, will drop his claim of the balance of the present, although he has not reminded Governor Pit since January last. Mr. Ramvel Kistapaneyk, ex-regent of Poelesera, has joined Sahagie, but has afterwards left him again and has gone in the forest behind Tegepatnam, however without joining either of the parties. Therefore the proposal made before to transfer the

Company would become too strong and formidable in his country. In the year 1651 also His Majesty could not be induced to allow the Company to build stone and fireproof houses at Maslupatnam. And the Commander Ragiecoellie-beek would not consent last year that the town Palleacatte would be surrounded by a wall and points, which however was quite necessary, because the town is so open that it could not be defended. And in order to deter the Company even more from their plan, the King gives this his protection the name of property. The flag or standard of His Majesty has been ordered in St. Thome and has been hoisted there with the usual salutation shots, but the keys are still kept by the Portuguese. There are rumours that the Governor of the fortress Ponnepilly, or the Commander, has received orders to send some people there; but this is not yet known and still the King writes that the town has been occupied by his troops. In the meantime the Portuguese are on the alert and have armed their "toupasses". It is also said that the English have supplied them with 5 or 6 bars of gunpowder. Leaving this difficulties alone Governor Pit is of opinion that on the other hand the Company would not take advantage of St. Thome. It is true that if this town was captured, it could be made much stronger than Polleacatte to resist all violence from outside.

#### [Cloth Trade on the Coromandel Coast]

It is also situated on the seashore and therefore in a better position than Palleacatte, but it is not more suitable for the trade, because all the better qualities of cloth for the fatherland, and also the coarse mourys for India must be obtained from Madrepacque and Nelour 8 miles northwest of Palleacatte. Moreover all the red-dyed and several other kinds of cloth for the Company as well as for the English must be obtained from Calletour and Armogoy, also north of Palleacatte, and the bigger part of painted cloths is made at Ponnerly  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles inland from Palleacatte, so that these cloths can easier be supplied at Palleacatte than at St. Thome [325] or any other place more to the south. Only the place Cangiewaron where guinese cloth and some coarse

bethillés are made, is  $\frac{1}{3}$  nearer to St. Thome than to Pallea-catte. It would be possible to bring the cloth from Calletour and Armougou to St. Thome by sea as the English do, and whereby also the toll at Pallea-catte could be escaped, but the farther the places are situated from each other the more charges, risk and freight.

**[The Sultan of Golkonda against the Portuguese  
of St. Thome at the Suggestion of a Dutch Ambassador]**

[344] After this letter had been handed over to Mr. Hachim Molk, Caulier was called before the King who was sitting on his throne. His Majesty seemed to be still suffering from illness. After the letters had been delivered His Majesty said that it would be unnecessary to read them, as the contents and also his request were sufficiently known to him. His Majesty did not say any contradiction which could have been a cause for Caulier to start a debate. After taking leave of His Majesty he therefore returned to his hotel hopefully and wished very much that he would have the promised present with him or only half of it. The King has thereupon passed on the proposal of Caulier to his Commander and asked for his advice. But the Commander, who (as mentioned) had already taken the side of the Portuguese, has strongly dissuaded the King to comply with the request, pretending that in case of need the town St. Thome would be very useful to him for a retreat, or to start from there on an expedition. And as it would also be a big disrespect to the King he could not understand why we should be allowed premises there, considering that the castle Gelria was not more than 3 yentyf or Dutch miles from St. Thome and that it would therefore be unnecessary to divert our trade there. However taking into consideration that Caulier had specially come to Golconda for that purpose, and that the town St. Thome belonged to the King, the Commander was of opinion that Caulier could be given satisfaction by promising him to drive all the Portuguese and their adherents from the castle and to allow us premises, if we wanted them, not in the fort but in the town, to carry on our business, provided we paid the

tribute which the Portuguese had paid up to now. The fort would then remain occupied by the troops of the King. This gave quite a different turn to the matter. For His Majesty has respected this reply of the Commander so much that he would not act otherwise for any reason in the world, even if he was given ever such a big present; and he discussed the matter with his ministers and decided to draft the firman as follows: that the Portuguese would be chased from the castle of St. Thome, and that afterwards the Company would be given premises outside the castle for carrying on her trade, provided we would pay as mentioned above. His Majesty therefore maintains that the only object is to drive the Portuguese from there and that we ought to be satisfied with that. Mr. Hackim has stated that the Portuguese have given the town in property to the King and that a contract in writing has been made to that effect, by which they have undertaken to leave the town at the order of the King, [345] in which case the captain of St. Thome has been promised that he could enter into the service of the King. If Caulier cannot do otherwise he will receive the firman drawn up as mentioned, because a refusal would not do any good. That we were refused premises in the town St. Thome had happened, according to Hackim, for several reasons, but he did not have any doubt that afterwards we would be allowed to have them.

For after the Portuguese had been driven out from there they would never be allowed to enter the town again. And this would even be better than that we lived there together with the Portuguese.

### [Failure of Negotiations between the Dutch and the Sultan of Golkonda]

[402] This is what Mr. van Goens did in Cormandel. Let us now return to the district St. Thome. We have seen above on page 344 how the King and his Commander made Caulier hope that the Portuguese would be driven out, and that the Company would be allowed premises in the town outside the castle; and that Caulier if he could not do other-

wise would accept the firman on this basis. But the result has taught us that the King did not mean this and that he only tried to gain time, whilst he made us hope in the meantime till Mr. van Goens would have left with the naval and land forces of the Company. After the first audience granted to Caulier (which proved to be the only one, for Caulier was not allowed to see His Majesty afterwards), the King wrote to [403] Mr. Hakkim Molk on the 21st August and ordered him to make a contract with us and inform us that His Majesty would expel the Portuguese from Meylapour and would give us permission to settle there, provided we would agree to obey the officers of His Majesty on his command always and without default, at sea and on the land, in fair or in foul, and that we would help his people always, not hold up his ships but help them in everything fair-mindedly. And that we would also consider His Majesty's enemies as our enemies and his friends as our friends. That his "abeldaers" would show us a place in Meylapour where we could stay without troubling his subjects. When these conditions had been handed over to Caulier, the latter has replied him by letter and asked him to show this letter to His Majesty and have it signed and confirmed by him. It contained the following conditions:—

First: that the Portuguese would be driven out of St. Thome and the castle be occupied by the King's troops.

Second: that the Company would have premises in the town outside the castle for trading purposes, and would pay toll and tribute like the Portuguese had done, and would assist the King fairly.

Third: that the Company would not hold up or hinder ships which the King would send to such places as the Company would have allowed His Majesty, but would help them in as much as could be done without loss to the Company.

Fourth: that the Company would cause no trouble in the kingdom of Golconda.

Fifth: that the Company would not assist the enemies of the King.



Sixth and last: that we would build our premises in the town St. Thome, on the place which the "auweldars" of the King would show us. Thereupon the King has given firmans to his commandant Neychnamhan and to Governor Pit, containing that his Majesty has made a new contract with our people, in which the following is stipulated:

1. That the Company will help His Majesty in everything and will not hold up the ships of the King, but will give them passports and will not refuse to render service to the King;
2. That the enemies of the King will be the enemies of the Company;
3. That nothing will be done which will not be agreeable to the King;
4. That after that the Portuguese will be driven out of St. Thome and we will be given a place in the town.

Seeing the big difference between the points which he had given in his reply and these royal firmans, and even with such a clause, as if he had already approved of the contents and had accepted them, Caulier has refused to accept the firmans, before the King had signed the said points without asking us for any more than was mentioned therein. But knowing very well that in that case we would not stick to [404] his said firmans the King has twice refused to do so. Caulier informed His Majesty amicably that he should not be talked round with regard to the Portuguese; but that he should keep in mind that the Company had changed their original plan to please His Majesty, but that otherwise the town St. Thome would not have escaped them.

The King did not reply to this. And seeing that nothing remained to be done for him there, Caulier left Golconda and arrived at Maslupatnam on the 8th September, bringing with him the said firmans (but without "chaps" and therefore without value) to talk about them with Mr. van Goens who was expected at Maslupatnam, under condition that if the same were returned His Majesty would be bound to accept

them again. And because Mr. van Goens did not come to Maslupatnam for reasons mentioned above, Caulier has sent the firmans to Palleacatte to Governor Pit. We shall now tell the experiences of the interpreter of the Company called Narsa, who as mentioned above was sent on the 27th August with the supplementary letter of Mr. van Goens and a proper present to the Commander. He arrived in the army of the Commander on the 8th September some days after Caulier had left Golconda and handed over the letter of Mr. van Goens to him. After reading it they had a conversation translated as follows:—

Commander: The Portuguese had lived in Meylapour for many years, how can we drive them out from there? And if we do so the English and the other traders will not believe us any more, but will always suspect us.

Interpreter: This expulsion cannot be considered as violence nor infidelity, because they would have been expelled by the arms of the Company; and they may consider themselves lucky that they may go out without loss, in peace and comfort through the intermediary of the King.

Commander: If I expelled the Portuguese from St. Thome what benefit would that give to the Dutch? Because Palleacatte and St. Thome are so close together that the cloth sold at St. Thome can also be obtained at Palleacatte. I do not understand why you desire St. Thome so much.

Interpreter: The Dutch will thus be able to expand their business and carry on their trade at St. Thome as well as at Palleacatte, which will be to the benefit of Your Highness.

Commander: In that fortress are 4 or 500 Portuguese who would rather die than leave.

Interpreter: The Dutch have taken places where there were considerably more Portuguese, and would also have attacked this town, if they had not desisted from their plan out of respect for Your Highness.

Commander: But what is your opinion in this matter.

Interpreter: Your Highness knows that if the Company was doing business in St. Thome, this would be to the pros-

perity of the town and to the benefit of Your Highness. The Portuguese are false, but the Dutch are straight.

[405] After the interpreter had said this the Commander without giving further reply took leave of him, until another time and after 6 days the interpreter sent him the present which he accepted, promising to give him guides to reach his destination quickly. But the interpreter was held up every now and then, so that he did not return to Palleacatte until the 20th October, carrying letters to Governor Pit as well as to Mr. van Goens in which he promised to make the Portuguese leave the town St. Thome, if on the other hand the Company would undertake the obligation to give the ships of the King unlimited passports and to provide them with officers and to consider the enemies of the King also as their enemies. Governor Pit is of opinion that we may never agree to this. But hoping that the Commander would go on expelling the Portuguese, he wrote a letter to His Highness on the 23rd of the same month informing him that he could not undertake such an obligation without first obtaining orders from Mr. van Goens, who had left for the coast of India, but that in the meantime he would give officers and passports to the ships of the King to those places where the Moor ships had permission to go; that also the Company would never assist the enemies of the King, whoever they might be. This is the fruitless result of the plans of the Company at St. Thome. The said Commander had sent at the request of the Portuguese 300 horsemen and 400 footmen to St. Thome to protect that town against the Company. But the Portuguese would not let them enter the town, but wanted them to stay outside which they did without complaint. And they stayed there till the ships of the Company had all gone to the south, when they were no longer in the vicinity of St. Thome and had gone to Velour. There were persistent rumours in Golconda that the peace between the crown of Portugal and our country had almost been concluded...

### **[War between the Mughal Emperor and Golkonda]**

The Mogol again intended to make war to the King of

Golconda because he had not yet paid the whole of the tribute he claimed. The King engages many soldiers and has the towers of his castle well reinforced to resist the Mogol. On account of this the roads to Barampour and Lahore will again become unsafe. This tribute has so far been paid in rupees, but now the Mogol wants pagodes, so that the new pagodes have considerably gone down in price, the quotation being 128 for 100 old pagodes.

### **[Army of Madura and Tanjore against Shahaji]**

The Commander Lingamaneyk, mentioned above on page 320, has not made so much progress against Sahagie, as was expected in the beginning. He and his army were led round the whole province of Singier by the cavalry of Sahagie, so that not being able to persue him close enough he had returned in the end to take the castle of Tegenepatnam. But when he had approached to the ditch Sahagie appeared with 8000 horsemen and cut off the communications of his enemy, so that Lingamaneyk was forced to break up the siege and to resist Sahagie...

### **[Agreement between the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore]**

But later on, [406] on the 2nd September, the two parties made an agreement that Sahagie would retain the countries which he has possessed before, viz. Porto Noro and Tegenapatnam till further orders from the King of Visiapore and that he would no longer do any damage in the countries of Tansjouwer and Madura; and that he would release the son of the neyk of Tansjouwer, provided the father would pay 50 thousand reals. The neyks of Tansjouwer and Madura, who were displeased with this contract, imprisoned Lingamaneyk in the castle Tritsienapille with the intention of making further war against Sahagie. But after thinking matters over the neyk of Madura released him and gave him nice presents. The neyk of Tansjouwer joined in this, the contract was confirmed, and until further confirmation it was arranged that the neyk of Tansjouwer would marry the daughter of Lingamaneyk, and that Lingamaneyk would marry the sister of the neyk. Whereupon Lingamaneyk went to his mas-

ter, the neyk of Madura, and left his servant behind with 3000 men to receive the said 50 thousand ra . . .

### **[Shahaji against Lingama Nayaka]**

But afterwards he received a letter from Antosie Pontele that Sahagie would not wait for the money any longer and had therefore broken the contract. This meant that they were again up against each other. Before Lingamaneyk had come near the castle Tegenepatnam the men from the castle had been twice in Porto Noro, had looted the town and driven the inhabitants into the country and dispersed them...

### **[Dutch Troubles during Shahaji's War]**

Seeing how many troubles the Company had to go through in this heavy war, Governor Pit had ordered the residents that they would embark with the valuable merchandise in the gallot Tayoan, which was lying in the roadstead for that purpose, and that if the troubles would not have ceased on the 25th September they should go to Palleacatte, leaving the premises with the arrack for a short time under protection of the Company's soldiers. But when peace was concluded this had not been necessary. They had already loaded some of the merchandise in the said gallot, but had unloaded it again. Sahagie is very satisfied that we have remained neutral in this affair.

### **[Dealings between the Nayak of Tanjore and the Dutch]**

In the meantime a certain old noble woman arrived at Palleacatte from Transjouwer, who had also previously been employed for making the contract between St. Maleye, on behalf of the Company on one side and the neyk of Tansjouwer on the other side. She had now been sent by the said neyk to Governor Pit, to enquire how much he would give of the balance of the present. The Governor has thereupon sent that woman back to Tansjouwer with a letter and a roll of red Persian velvet for the neyk. He offered him half of the present asked for, provided His Highness would

redeem us half of the toll of all the goods, which the Company would import or export there. And that when we would have heard that His Highness agreed to this proposal, we would send a special ambassador to His Highness to make the final contract and to deliver to present. The Governor intended in that case to employ Padmanaba Bramine, [407] an old "calant" of the Company. And afterwards a letter came from Tansjouwer that the neyk had received the said letter and the present with pleasure, and had promised to reply to it after his arm-festivals and that he would then give the Company satisfaction.

### [Flourishing State of Goa]

[447] From all this it can be seen that conditions in the State of Goa are now a good deal better than the previous advices mentioned. After our ships had left, the town of Goa has received much foodstuff from Canara, against the contract made by the Company with Ventapaneyk. 384<sup>3/4</sup>, last rice remain in Canara out of the 1200 bought for Batavia and 700 for Seylon.

### [Shivaji's War against Bijapur]

The rebel Siwasi again threatens to attack the Visiapour countries. Lokkomsant is afraid because he is coming to start negotiations with the Portuguese in order to have free shelter in each other's country in cases of emergency. The Goanese have therefore sent the Bramine Quothary to Lokkomsant, who has returned with a letter and a present to Lokkomsant. The intestine wars increase every day so that before long the destruction of the Visiapour State is anticipated, unless there comes a change soon.

### [The British Prisoners of Shivaji]

[448] The English resident Revington is still prisoner of Siwasi with his comrades on a certain fort Soanqur, situated in an inland. Salabetchan has sent a representative to Siwasi to get them released and he himself is now in the field with a big army against Bullelchan.

**[Movements of English Ships]**

The English ship mentioned on page 338 has left from Goa with speed, to and unknown destination. On the 6th July a big English ship arrived at Goa from Persia with destination to Bengal. But 8 days after its arrival, the rabble within Goa made a big noise that this was a Dutch ship and not an English one. The matter was investigated, but no fraud was found. However the captain has been detained as hostage in a certain house inside the palace until further proofs have been obtained.



# Reviews

**BEGINNINGS OF VIJAYANAGARA HISTORY** By the Rev. H. Heras, S. J., M. A., Professor of Indian History, Director, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Bombay, 1929. (7½ × 5½ in., pp. VIII, 144).

This monograph is the fourth among the valuable series of 'Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute' established and conducted at the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, by the Rev. Father Heras. It gives in a convenient form the substance of two extension lectures delivered by the Rev. H. Heras at Mysore in 1928. The first lecture discusses the origin of the city of Vijayanagara and the second is devoted to the origin of the first dynasty. For some years now it has been generally recognized, (1) that the city of Vijayanagara owes its origin to the military necessities of the Hoysaḷa Empire in its attempts to arrest the southern expansion of Islam in India; and (2) that the rulers of the first Vijayanagara (Saṅgama) dynasty were politically the heirs of the Kanarese dynasty of the Hoysaḷas and owed, unlike the later dynasties, nothing whatever to the Telugu country and its people. But the Rev. Heras reinforces these conclusions with such a wealth of detailed evidence so ably presented, that this little book is a model of its kind with regard to historical method.

A monograph which is generally so scientific might, one feels, have spared the rather groundless conjecture about the 'ascetic dwellers' of the Śringeri Math fabricating the story of Vidyāraṇya's foundation of Vijayanagara (pp. 33-4), and the rather cheap sneer at Advaita Vedānta contained in the sentence: "Their knowledge of what they call absolute reality, acquired only by their practice of asceticism, inclines them to place all other things, whether existing or not existing, whether true or false, on the same level of relative reality." It may be noted in passing that Cm, 88 is dated in Śaka 1313 in the original inscription though the date "1513 A.D. (?) appears before the English translation (*E. C.*, VI),



which has been followed by Rev. Heras. If Ballāḷa II's son was "most likely Śrī Vīra Vijaya Virūpāksha" (p. 45, n2), then Ferishta was not very wrong when he supposed that Ballala's son was named Vijaya (p. 44). The statements about the Virūpāksha temple (pp. 45 & 55) raise a doubt as to the authors' view of the time of its erection. One should also like to have more evidence than a single inscription of 1339 (p. 45) about "the first official name" (p. 57) of Vijayanagara, viz. Vīra Vijaya Virūpākshapura. The references to the story of Saḷa and the tiger (p. 88) may lead the incautious reader to think that the author believes it to be historical, which is not the case. (*J. B. H. S.*, II, p. 177).

The book is well got up and constitutes a welcome addition to books on Vijayanagara History.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA (1587-1743). By D. G. E. Hall, I. E. S., Professor of History in the University of Rangoon. Longmans, Green and Co., 1928. (8½ x 5½ in., pp. VIII, 276).

Burma is to be congratulated. Just four years ago an excellent *History of Burma from the Earliest Times* written by Mr. G. E. Harvey, I. C. S., made its appearance in the circle of eastern historical literature, and last year the above not less excellent monograph on Burmese history was produced by a Professor of the University of Rangoon.

This centre of learning, though still young and without much experience, takes its first steps in the right direction. We see that this is the first publication of the Rangoon University Series; and we really expect that many more will follow, by which the students will be *taught* that the main duty of a University is not the manufacture of graduates but the promotion of culture.

This volume, the review of which we have undertaken, is a model of history and of impartial criticism. Prof. Hall has devoted all his energies to its production, by consulting all possible documents both at Madras, Burma and the India Office, and has based his narrative upon them only. The re-

sult has been the complete elucidation of a period totally unknown hitherto, and at the same time most interesting for the early adventures of the E. I. C.

The historian who critically studies the documents is always bound to destroy some legends that have entered the domains of history. Prof. Hall has successfully done so in his book. We believed hitherto that the E. I. C. had factories in Burma from the early years of the seventeenth century. But Prof. Hall has proved beyond doubt that the earliest British factory in Burma was established in 1647. (Appendix II, pp. 247-249) Chapter II is also of special interest. There the real history of the first connection between the E. I. C. and Burma has for the first time been written.

The book is wonderfully documented. There is no page without several references to the documents in a most faithful way. I purposely emphasize this point, for such faithfulness is greatly wanting in many books that purport to be modern and impartial history. Prof. Hall's book is to be studied not only by his own students at Rangoon but even by all Indian History students. They will practically learn while reading it how History is to be written. Side points of special interest more or less connected with the narrative are treated in several appendices. A complete bibliography of the sources both unpublished and published, as well as of the literature, is given at the end of the volume.

H. Heras, S. J.

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION IN INDIA DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By H. L. Chablani, M. A., Economics Department, Delhi University. Delhi, 1929. (8½ × 5 in., pp. VI, 115.)

The pamphlet contains three lectures delivered by Prof. Chablani at Delhi, and the reason of their publication seems to be "to arouse interest in a much neglected aspect of Indian History, and to correct the impression created by Mr. Moreland's writings".

In order to produce this effect the author seems to

conceal the economic state of the north, specially Delhi and surroundings, and his descriptions generally refer to the south where the economical conditions were far better. Many authors of Indian History have overlooked the south; and hence the interest of Mr. Chablani in describing the state of the south is praiseworthy. But still it is not quite fair to conceal the state of the north "to correct the impression created by Mr. Moreland's writings".

Thus for instance the section about agricultural production gives a very optimistic impression; but if one considers that the area under cultivation in that period was probably not more than half of what it is today, the impression becomes altogether different. In the same way the author seems to exaggerate the estimate about the population of India; for the population must have been in proportion to the area under cultivation, as it mainly depended for its food supply on the production in the country only. Hence it could not be more than half of what it is to day.

Mr. Chablani bases all his statements upon real historical documents, which are to be the only sources of information for the historian. But the use he makes of these documents is perhaps not as impartial as one has right to expect. On p. 37 for instance there is a long quotation from Fr. Monserrate's *Commentary*. Now some portions of this quotation seem to be purposely omitted, and while reading the full quotation one realizes that there is some difference between Fr. Monserrate's statement and his words partly quoted by Mr. Chablani. I give below the quotation of the author and the full wording of the document, so that the reader may be able to judge for himself:—

#### Author's Quotation

"This empire", says Monserrate, "is very beautiful and healthy... On account of the diversity of the climate in different parts it produces many and various types of

#### Monserrate's Commentary

"This empire is very beautiful and healthy, although in many places not well provided with fruit trees. On account of the diversity of the climate in different parts

**Author's Quotation**

crops:..But the farther one goes towards the north the more similar does one find the staple products to those of Europe... Rice, wheat, millet and pulse are produced in great quantities ...In many places in the neighbourhood of the Indus flax and hemp are sown... Indigo and opium are largely grown in the south, and bring no small profit to the royal revenues". (pp. 37-38).

**Monsserrate's Commentary**

it produces many and various types of crops. Thus in the southern area or zone, (as geographers would call it), the same crops are found as in the maritime district (near Goa). But the farther one goes towards the north, the more similar does one find the staple products to those of Europe, though indeed the following are the only representatives of the long list of European fruits and trees which grow in India with real exuberance (and these only on the Himalaya range), viz. the grape, the peach, the mulberry, the fig (in a few places) and the pine tree. The whole country bears pomegranates in abundance. The Cottonian apple, the pear and similar fruits are imported from Persia. Rice, wheat, millet and pulse are produced in great quantities. Amongst a great number of non-fruit-bearing trees, I recognised as European only the plane, though there are willows in Indocynthia. In many places in the neighbourhood of the Indus flax and hemp are sown. The plant which is commonly called "bangué", and

**Monserate's Commentary**

which when used as a drink produces intoxication and stupefaction of the mind and senses, has leaves very similar to those of the hemp-plant. It does not however grow on one stalk only, but has a low stem, from which spring a number of other branches like a brush. Indigo and opium are largely grown in the south, and bring no small profit to the royal revenues". (pp. 213-214).

Certainly not all the phrases omitted by the author create a bad impression in the reader; but among other things that are totally indifferent or even praiseworthy, there are two or three lines that seem to be carefully overlooked "to correct the impression created by Mr. Moreland's writings". Mr. Chablani could also give the following passage of Fr. Monserate's *Commentary* about the sources of revenue of the Mughal Empire. It is not very optimistic:—

"The King exacts enormous sums in tribute from the provinces of his empire, which is wonderfully rich and fertile both for cultivation and pasture, and has a great trade both in exports and imports. He also derives much revenue from the hoarded fortunes of the great nobles, which by law and custom all come to the King on their owners' death. In addition, there are the spoils of conquered kings and chieftains, whose treasure is seized, and the great levies exacted, and gifts received from the inhabitants of newly subdued districts in every part of his dominions. These gifts and levies are apt to be so large as to ruin outright many of his new subjects. He also engages in trading on his own account, and thus increases his wealth to no small degree; for he eagerly exploits every possible source of profit. Moreover,

he allows no bankers or money-changers in his empire except the superintendents and tellers of the royal treasuries. This enormous banking-business brings the king great profit; for at these royal treasuries alone may gold coin be changed for silver or copper, and vice versa". (p. 207)

It is also strange that *The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert* translated from the Dutch and edited by W. H. Moreland and P. Geyl has apparently not been seen by the author.

Finally we are to note that frequent references to one and the same source sometimes make the reading dull. On pp. 60-62 for instance Barbosa only is quoted, but not less than twenty-six times. Such frequent references to a single source make the reader forget the fact that he is reading Prof. Chablani's lectures and not a revised edition of Barbosa's travels.

H. Heras, S. J.

AT AJANTA. By Kanaiyalal H. Vakil, B. A., LL. B. Foreword by W. E. Gladstone Solomon, I. E. S., Author of "Jottings at Ajanta", "The Women of the Ajanta Caves", Etc. With 38 Illustrations. Bombay, 1929. (7 × 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. XXII, 82).

The title of this brochure rather misleads the reader. One expects to find oneself *at Ajanta* from the beginning of the booklet; but soon realizes his mistake when seeing that first of all the author explains the ways of going *to Ajanta*. This is due to the aim of Mr. Vakil of making his work most practical to the visitors of the Ancient Buddhist monastery; and he has been quite successful.

After a short introduction in which he studies the different attempts to make the paintings known, as well as the history of the caves and their artistic value, Mr. Vakil devotes the main part of his work to the description of the paintings and of the caves. His observations will be most useful to the visitor who spends only a few hours at Ajanta. Mr. Vakil has spent some days there, and his feelings while studying the paintings of that ancient gallery are expressed in

this guide as only a critic of art can express them. The text is accompanied by most beautiful photographs and designs both of paintings and caves.

The booklet is to be recommended to any tourist who intends visiting Ajanta; and the author is to be warmly congratulated on its production. Readers might expect a word of praise for the Publishers, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co.; but they do not deserve it. They have certainly published beautiful books; but they publish them only when the profit is certain and at hand. In order to deserve praise, Publishers ought to be ready to risk something for the benefit of the public and the progress of culture. When shall we see a work of real research, for instance in the history of India—a work that does not sell at once, but only in the course of years—published by the owners of the “Kitab Mahal”? European publishers, perhaps with less money, are more enterprising than the publishers of Bombay.

H. Heras, S. J.

SHIVASHAHICHĀ CHARCHATMAK ITIHĀS [PRĀS-TĀVANĀ KHANDA] SĀDHANA-CHIKITSĀ. By Vasudeo Sitaram Bendre, Poona, 1928. (In Marathi) ( $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. 6, 314, 12 pl.)

It is a truism to state that the History of the Marathas is yet in its formative stages. No consistent efforts in vernacular were ever made to approach the History of the Marathas scientifically except within the last 40 years. And the science of writing the history being entirely forensic and unknown to this land, dependance came to be had upon the methods propounded by foreign writers for the purpose of studying history. However great a place of honour may have been given to this study in the West, it has become a troublesome task in the East where people are so unsympathetic towards the study of foreign science. And therefore, the author of *Sādhana-Chikitsā* deserves to be warmly congratulated for publishing a book which is epoch-making in the study of the most important period of the History of

the Marathas. The deep erudition that is brought to bear upon the subject, the meticulous care taken in its treatment and the unremitting labour taken to collect, the mass of materials throwing light on the age of Shivaji are some of the notes that characterize this unique book in Marathi literature. Cautious to a fault, he has dealt with his subject with such absolute dispassionateness as will do credit to a Langlois or Seignobos. *Sādhana-Chikitsā* is very original in character, based as it is upon the personal experience of the author in the domain of research of historical materials concerning the history of the Founder of the Maratha nation. From page to page, the book is teeming with subtle observation expressed with utmost earnestness that results from deep conviction; though the language is throughout highly prosaic, dry and uninteresting. The book refers to how historical documents ought to be studied; how the proof in support of any theory ought to be carefully weighed; how the meaning of a particular word, idiom or sentence ought to be determined; how to decide whether a document is genuine or false; how to pick up and ascertain the truth of a statement impartially; how to sift, arrange and check bits of evidence in support of any allegation, statement or theory; how to state a theory cautiously—in fact all this and innumerable other interesting and important points in the study of history as a science have been minutely detailed by the author in a masterly manner. The one important law, that the author of *Sādhana-Chikitsā* has repeatedly stated in the body of the book is, that the author cannot be satisfied as to the determination of a historical character or incident till all the materials bearing on that particular character or incidence have not been exhaustively sifted and reviewed from every available point of view.

All these rules and details have been systematically and scientifically stated. Though Mr. Bendre's work comprises three hundred pages of quarto size, it refers to a vast mass of material touching only one period of the History of the Marathas. At a modest computation, the documents of this particular period are likely to exceed one hundred thousand papers, which would certainly require at



least ten years of the life of an ordinary student of history for this close study. And when it is remembered that Mr. Bendre has been working in this direction in the midst of his various activities one is bound to admire the constancy of the author in devoting the best years of his life to the dry and tedious study of this period of Maratha History. The book is a valuable contribution to the study of history as a science in general. It is a great pleasure to recommend it to the students of history for their perusal and guidance in the domain of historical research, which is beset with so many difficulties of superstition and prejudice. All these pitfalls are wonderfully anticipated and solved with surprising ease by the author of *Sādhana-Chikitsā*.

M. K. Trilokekar.

THE PANDYAN KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. London, 1929. (8½ × 5½ in., pp. VIII, 277).

The author of this book declares that his work makes no claim to be considered as "a full and satisfactory account of the Pāṇḍyan Kingdom" (p. III). Nevertheless we have great pleasure in stating that the author has been very successful in his enterprise, in spite of the difficulties which he has come across. The history of the Pāṇḍyas is a most intricate period of South Indian History, one that would discourage the most enthusiastic researcher. But Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has not been discouraged; and what is more, his success is so remarkable that by the appearance of this book he has placed himself among the great professors and writers of the history of India.

We were in need of a complete history of the Pāṇḍya Dynasty. The works and articles of Swamikkannu Pillai, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Kanakasabhai Pillai and others were only partial, though valuable, monographs illustrating some points connected with Pāṇḍya history; but a continuous critical and impartial history of the Pāṇḍyas was still to appear. Hence Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is to be thanked for this new production which satisfies that need.

The author commences by referring to the sources to be consulted and studied when writing on the subject. His enumeration is not detailed, for he actually refers to individual sources in the course of his narrative; but even in this chapter one finds very useful and sensible critical remarks about the documents referring to Pāṇḍya history.

When commencing the real historical portion Prof. Nilakanta examines the early references and makes a detailed study of the age of the Sangam as the necessary background in front of which the historian is to place the early Pāṇḍya monarchs.

The subsequent chapters referring to Pāṇḍya history proper form the main part of this book. It is gratifying to see that some questions intimately connected with Pāṇḍya history have been treated at length, for instance the Kalabhraas (pp. 47-49). The relations between Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas form one of the most interesting portions of this work. The history of the Pāṇḍyas is taken down to the times of Trivallabha in the beginning of the XVIIth century. Then the Pāṇḍya kingdom had totally disappeared, and the sovereigns possessed the title as a mere ornament to emphasize the power of the Vijayanagara Emperors, whom they acknowledged as their overlords.

It is strange nevertheless that Prof. Nilakanta does not devote at least one chapter to the history of several offshoots of the Pāṇḍyas ruling in different parts of South India. Thus the history of the whole Pāṇḍya-kula would have been complete. He himself refers to the Pāṇḍyas of Uccangi in the Preface (p. IV); but they are not mentioned any more in the body of the book. Similarly the author does not mention the Pāṇḍyas of Teṅkāśi, nor the Pāṇḍyas of Kāyattār. A critical discussion about Būthāla Pāṇḍya, the famous hero of the Tuḷuva country, would not have been out of place.

These little flaws will easily be remedied in a second edition of this book. In any case the author deserves great praise for his method and critical spirit. The writing of history is not an easy thing now, as it was perhaps in the times of Macaulay. Many authors, young and not young,

write history without being acquainted with the most essential principles of historical methodology. When one receives a new book containing pages and pages bearing no references to the sources, one naturally feels inclined to throw such a production into the waste-paper basket. The knowledge and authority of the writer is of no value, if the statements are not proved by continuous references to the sources. The book under review is a model in this respect. A very few pages will be found without such references. Unfortunately the author seems not to have been acquainted with the volumes of *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which are not once referred to. Prof. Nilakanta moreover is not satisfied with giving references to the sources. He critically discusses them, compares different views, and finally gives his own opinion; and I felt a special pleasure in finding some of my opinions learnedly opposed by the author. I only fail to see why he does not accept "the popular and confused chronicles in the Taylor MSS. as history" (p. 245, note).

Our last remark is that the author perhaps lays too much stress on apparitions narrated by poets and the like (Cf. pp. 242-243 and 250). Certainly Prof. Nilakanta rightly observes that the importance of the first of these apparitions consists in this —that "it gives a fairly reliable account from the Hindu point of view of the state of feeling in the country towards its Muhammadan rulers, and in a matter like this, contemporary literary evidence is of inestimable value in supplementing the evidence from epigraphs" (p. 243). Yet "the account of the transference of the ancient sword from the Pāṇḍyan Kings to Kampana" does not seem to be equally valuable. This is an invention of Gangā Dēvī to justify the war and rule of her husband Kampana over the Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam. But these are small faults that no human work may be totally free from. We have sufficiently declared that *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom* by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri is an excellent work, that will be with great difficulty superseded.

H. Heras, S. J.

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO THE COURT OF AURANGZEB. By

Harihar Das, B. Litt. (Oxon.), F.R.S.L., F. R. Hist. S. Reprinted from "The Indian Antiquary", Vol. LVIII, 1929, pp. 69-74, 93-97, 115-118. Bombay, 1929.

Mr. Das has done very good researches in Mughal and British history in the course of his sojourn in England. He spares no trouble in search of documents, rightly studying them, and exposing the fruit of his study methodically and attractively. This long article "is based on manuscript records preserved at the British Museum, the public Record Office and the India Office". A summary of this paper first appeared in *The Calcutta Review*, XXVI, pp. 19-22. The history of this Embassy or Mission is a valuable contribution to the history of Aurangzeb and of the city of Bombay, for which we are to be very grateful to Mr. Das.

H. Heras, S. J.

MONOGRAPH ON THE RELIGIOUS SECTS IN INDIA AMONG THE HINDUS. By D. A. Pai, B. A., Assistant Curator and Secretary, Victoria and Albert Museum, Victoria Gardens, Bombay. Bombay, 1928. (9½ × 6½ in., pp. VI, 104.)

This book, "printed and published under the patronage of the Municipal Corporation for the City of Bombay", is written "to provide some information in a readable form to the public of Bombay, or at least to such who visit the Victoria and Albert Museum, on the different religious sects to which the Hindu population belongs". Hence the author does not claim any originality or scholarly work. Nevertheless he is a very erudite and painstaking man and has produced a book useful not only to the visitors of his Museum but even to scholars and students of things Indian.

The latter would naturally demand some more *critical apparatus* specially in giving the sources of information carefully and in detail. But this was perhaps beyond the scope of Mr. Pai. Three main defects are to be noticed, which will, it is hoped, be avoided in a further edition.

1. This is a book without list of contents and without index, and both things would be extremely useful for the purpose for which the book is intended.

2. The whole book is an *Introduction*. Such is the title one reads on p. 1, and no other main title is found throughout the whole book. We suspect that the real text commences on p. 25, but the small titles one finds on this and other pages only correspond to the sub-titles of the Introduction.

3. If the historical account of the different sects and of their followers had been given in chronological order, the whole book would have gained much, and many repetitions would have been dispensed with.

The book is well and profusely illustrated; the three-colour pictures especially are as beautiful as they are instructive.

H. Heras, S. J.

**THE DELIVERANCE OR THE ESCAPE OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT FROM AGRA.** By Rao Saheb G. K. alias Baba Saheb Deshpande, of the Clan Vishwamitra, Retired Deputy Supdt. of Police, Intelligence Bureau, Home Dept. Government of India. 1st Edition. 1929. (7 × 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  in., pp. XIV, 4, XVI, 8, 130, 108, XIX, 7).

The intention of the author seems to be very good, but the book shows lack of training. He narrates the history of this incident in the course of 130 pages. His notes are mere quotations from different authors, without making any distinction between historical sources and mere literature. Such distinction is also wanting when quoting passages of different authors in the text itself about the interview of Shivaji with Aurangzeb at Agra (pp. 51-96 of main body of the book).

The author is full of enthusiasm for the founder of the Maratha nation and shows this enthusiasm in every page of his book. Turn for instance to p. 3 of the main body of the book. There Shivaji is called "great Maratha", "Champion of the Hindu cause", "Idol of Maharashtra", "Hero of Maharashtra" and again "Champion of the Hindu cause". Certainly the historian may feel enthusiasm for any of the personages with whom he is dealing, but he should not show this enthusiasm; he ought to remain as cool in front of a hero

as in front of a villain. Otherwise his appreciation will not be impartial. The same p. 3 is quite a good example of this. Any impartial historian will discover there several statements which no historical document may ever substantiate.

This is the main defect of Rao Bahadur Deshpande's book. It is lacking moreover in historical criticism and method. The letter of Shivaji to Jaising, published in appendix A and almost fully quoted on pp. 39 to 44 of main body of the book, bears in itself the signs of a much later forgery; though in this case our Baba Saheb may excuse himself by blaming the editors of the *Shivaji Souvenir*.

It is always good to be grateful to our benefactors, but the author of this book seems to have been looking for them in order to publish their names in his book. This long list covers three full pages; and in any case it sounds totally irrelevant in a historical book to thank his superintendent for the good training received from him in the Police Department (p. XV of Preface).

Rao Bahadur Deshpande undoubtedly expects that his book will be published in a second edition, for he carefully avers in the title page that this is the *1st edition*. We sincerely expect that the above defects will be duly corrected in any further edition. Moreover we would advise him:

1. To put as usual the Index at the end, and to add a list of *Contents* in the beginning.

2. To shorten a little the title of the book, for there is no reason whatsoever to add the word *Escape* after the word *Deliverance*; or to connote the former with the latter, if the word *Escape* is finally selected.

3. To omit his own and his friends' portraits, that have nothing to do with the subject of his book. If it is true that the author of history ought to disappear absolutely from the sight of his readers, so much so that his subjective impressions and feelings do not show at all in the course of his writings, with much greater reason the author's portrait would wisely be omitted.

4. To follow one series of numbering pages throughout the whole book, with the exception of a few pages of

Préface and Introduction in the beginning. One comes across these different series of numbering pages in some Indian books, but the one under review breaks the record with eight different series of paging. Now imagine that one wishes to refer to p. 4 or to p. XIV. There are five pages 4 and 3 pages XIV in the book. How to solve this problem? Baba Saheb Deshpande will, it is hoped, have pity on his readers, and will not put them in such difficulties in a further edition.

H. Heras, S. J.

ST. THOMAS, THE APOSTLE, IN INDIA. An investigation based on the latest researches in connection with the Time-honoured Tradition regarding St. Thomas in Southern India by F. A. D'Cruz, K. S. G., Retired Superintendent, General Records, Government Secretariat, Madras, and Editor, "The Catholic Register", San Thome, Mylapore. Second Edition, Madras, 1929. (7 × 4½ in., pp. XIX, 182, illustrated).

Mr. D'Cruz is to be congratulated on the second edition of this book that summarizes the tradition of the mission of St. Thomas in Southern India, and the vicissitudes of the same tradition. This edition has been considerably enlarged, especially by the addition of two new chapters, chapter II of Part I "St. Thomas and Edessa", and chapter I of Part IV "The Malabar Liturgy". The book is also embellished with numerous illustrations, though some of them, one is bound to say, are totally disconnected with the subject.

Elsewhere I have expressed my opinion about the mission of St. Thomas in India. (Cf. Heras; *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, I, p. 62, note 4). There are evidently two traditions about St. Thomas' mission in India. One, the origin of which is to be looked for in the first centuries of the Christian era, is a tradition confirmed by numismatic evidence and corroborated by mediaeval travellers. The other tradition, referring to the martyrdom of St. Thomas and his sepulchre at Mylapore, dates from the 16th century, when the Portuguese arrived at the Eastern coast of Southern India.

As regards the first tradition there seems to be no reason for doubting his mission in the north and even in the south, in Ma'abar, according to the mediaeval travellers. Mr. Vincent Smith himself, who was not inclined to admit it in the first editions of his *Early History of India*, has totally changed his views in the subsequent editions (3rd, p. 245; 4th, p. 250).

But as regards the second tradition, the facts are not so clear. Mr. D'Cruz, after referring to the tradition contained in the *Roman Breviary* and in the *Roman Martyrology*, simply adds:-

"Then there is the long accepted belief that he not only visited the north of India, but also preached in Southern India, where he built churches and left congregations; that he proceeded first to the West Coast where the descendants of the early converts are known to this day as the St. Thomas' Christians; that *he then went to the East Coast and preached there with such success that a large number of the people were converted; and that in the end he was martyred on St. Thomas' Mount and buried in San Thome, now a suburb of Madras*". (Italics mine) (p. 33). Accordingly since the fact of the martyrdom and burial at San Thome is thus stated by a "long-accepted belief", Mr. D'Cruz rejects the opinion of Mons. S. Lévi about St. Thomas' martyrdom at Mathura, by saying: "If St. Thomas was put to death in the kingdom of Mathura in the north, he could not have been martyred at St. Thomas' Mount in the south." (p. 60).

Thus the author nicely escapes the reef of the Portuguese tradition, which on account of its relatively modern origin can on no account be called "time-honoured". The original account of the supposed finding of the relics of St. Thomas by the Portuguese seems to have been lost. But some early Portuguese writers have kept the details of the original account, and these details are quite enough for disclosing the untruthfulness of the discovery. (Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, I, pp. 222-224; Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, I, p. 152. Cf. Heras, l. c.). It is indeed remarkable that after the transfer of the bones of St. Thomas to Edessa, in Syria, before the VI



century, as St. Gregory of Tours affirms (Cf. Migne, *PP. LL.*, LXXI, p. 733), the Portuguese should find them at Mylapore in the 16th century. "The Portuguese", adds Mr. D'Cruz with Dr. Medlycott, "on arriving in India, unaware of the historical data now available regarding the remains of the Apostle, assumed that the tomb at Mylapore yet held the entire remains" (p. 97). But the Portuguese on arriving at Mylapore actually *saw the bones, that were described as white, next to a broken lance*, and even replaced these relics in a China chest or in a silver box to be kept next to the altar. (Cf. *Historia Chronologica, O Gabnete Literario das Fontainhas*, I, p. 13) Hence one feels bound to say that they found too many things, because on arriving at Mylapore they were "unaware of the historical data now available regarding the remains of the Apostle".

This was not the first attempt of the Portuguese to connect the places they visited with the Apostle of India. In an anonymous letter of a traveller from Venice to ser Zuane di Santi, written in the year 1511, it is said that St. Thomas preached in the city of Vijayanagara (*Gubernatis, Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 382). Another Italian traveller Luigi Rancinotto, who was in India in 1529, tells us that Policate (Pulicat, on the Eastern Coast) is an island where the body of St. Thomas is buried (*Ibid.*, p. 128). This information was naturally obtained by these rushing travellers from their friends the Portuguese, who were permanently settled in the country.

No slight defect in Mr. D'Cruz's book is that the author does not seem to have consulted the sources themselves. Thus we read on p. 95: "The local version of the martyrdom prevailing on the Coromandel Coast, as given by Marco Polo and Bishop John de Marignolli, is that St. Thomas while praying in the wood was accidentally shot by an arrow aimed at a peacock". One naturally understands from these words that such event occurred on the Coromandel Coast. But Marco Polo (1293 A. D.) does not say anything of the kind. "The Body of Master Saint Thomas the Apostle", says he, "lies in the province of Malabar at a certain little town hav-

ing no great population; 'tis a place where few traders go, because there is very little merchandise to be got there, and it is a place not very accessible... The earth I should tell you is red" (Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, p. 338, 2nd. ed.) Marignolli half a century later (1349) practically repeats the same: "The third province of India", he writes, "is Maabar, and the Church of St. Thomas, which he built with his own hands, is there" (Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 374).

The same is said by other travellers of the mediaeval period:—

Friar John of Monte Corvino (1292-93): "And I remained in the country of India, wherein stands the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for thirteen months" (Ibid., p. 197).

Blessed Oderic of Pordenone (1315-16): "From this realm 'tis a journey of ten days to another realm which is called Mobar, and this is very great, and hath in it many cities and towns. And in this realm is laid the body of the Blessed Thomas the Apostle. His Church is filled with idols, and beside it are some fifteen houses of the Nestorians". (Ibid., p. 80).

It is therefore evident that the sepulchre of St. Thomas was in Ma'abar. This is an Arabic word meaning *port* or *harbour*. The traders from Arabia had frequent intercourse with the western coast of India, specially from Goa southwards. All those ports, Goa, Honavar, Mangalore, Calicut, etc., were naturally called "Ma'abar" and hence the whole country received this name, that became afterwards Malabar. Hence the tomb of St. Thomas was located not on the eastern coast, but on the coast of the Arabian Sea.

The other circumstances referred to by the travellers and even by tradition also point to the western coast:—

1. The place where St. Thomas is buried is not frequented by many traders, as there is very little merchandise there. This at least does not agree with the commercial aspect of Mylapore.

2. It is not very accessible. This geographical detail cannot be applied to Mylapore either.

3. Round the Church there lived some Nestorians. Such Nestorian community was never heard of on the eastern coast; but they were very common in Malabar.

4. The earth of the country is red. The red mud of Kanara and Malabar is well known. Such mud is unknown on the eastern coast.

5. The tradition tells us that St. Thomas was killed by order of a king. But in point of fact, no kings of Mylapore have ever been known, in spite of the extensive research work that has recently been done in South Indian History. On the contrary, several kings of Malabar are well known to historians.

We must not pass over the fact that there is one traveller, prior to the Portuguese arrival, who seems to point to Mylapore as the place of St. Thomas' tomb. Niccoló de' Conti was in India for a good number of years, when he was a youth, in the first half of the 15th century. "Proceeding onwards", says his account, "the said Niccoló arrived at a maritime city, which is named Malepur, situated in the second gulf beyond the Indus. Here the body of Saint Thomas lies honourably buried in a large and beautiful church; it is worshipped (*sic*) by heretics, who are called Nestorians, and inhabit this city to the number of a thousand." (Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 7, Hakluyt Society's ed.)

This passage needs to be carefully studied. Conti did not write a narrative nor any letter about the things he saw in India. In 1449 he verbally narrated his tour to Pope Eugenius IV, then at Florence, while Poggio Fiorentino, the Pope's Secretary, hurriedly scribbled down in Latin what Conti was saying. This account nevertheless remained unpublished till the year 1723, when it appeared at Paris with the title *Historiae de varietate fortunae libri quatuor*. It is evident therefore that at the time of its publication the whole of Europe was aware that the Portuguese were supposed to have found the relics and tomb of St. Thomas at Mylapore in 1517. Hence we suspect that the editor of this work, one 'Joanne Oliva', changed the original word Ma'abar or Malebar into Malepur; and to make the whole passage

clearer, interpolated the words "*in secundo sinu ultra Indiam sita*". Our suspicion is founded not only upon the fact that all previous travellers refer to Ma'abar, but also upon the description of this city, that does not agree with Mylapore. If Conti found a thousand Nestorians living at Mylapore in 1425-30, where had all these Nestorians gone to when the Portuguese arrived there less than a century later? Such interpolations and changes were not so rare in those days, where authors and editors were not inspired by the spirit of modern criticism. A similar thing occurs, for instance, in a Christian Malayalam song that speaks of the Christians of St. Thomas, edited by Mr. T. K. Joseph in the *I. A.*, LVII, pp. 103-104. The first verse of the tune reads as follows:— "By the will of the Triune God St. Thomas (is) in Mylapore". A footnote of the Editor referring to this verse says: "This line seems to have no connection with the others". This disconnection is to be explained; and by supposing that this is a later addition it is explained quite satisfactorily. It is so easy to add a new verse in the beginning of a tune!

It is not strange therefore that St. Francis Xavier, a man highly educated and of extraordinary common sense, was not led to believe this story when he visited Mylapore in 1545. While writing about the place he says in Spanish: "Ay en Santo Thomae más de cien portugueses casados: ai vna iglesia mui deuota, y todos tienen que está allí el cuerpo del glorioso Apostol". (There are at St. Thome more than a hundred Portuguese all married; they have a very devout church and all think that the body of the glorious Apostle is lying there). (*Monumenta Historica S.J.*, *Monumenta Xaveriana*, I, p. 387).

We have written this long disquisition in order to show the weak points of Mr. D'Cruz's book. It is to be hoped that a further edition will be improved by a *critical apparatus*, and by a copious citation of sources in the footnotes.

H. Heras, S. J.

HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI. By R. Gopalan, M.A., University Research Student, 1920-1924. Sub-

Librarian, Comemara Public Library, Madras. Edited for the University with Introduction and Notes by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Hony. Ph. D., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University. Published by the University of Madras, 1928. ( $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in., pp. XXXIII, 245).

Mr. R. Gopalan was a research student at the University of Madras from 1920-24, and the book before us embodies the result of his researches during this period. By publishing this work, the author, we are glad to say, has met a greatly felt need; for a connected account of the history of the Pallavas was for a long time a desideratum. No doubt much has been done in this direction by famous Indologists, and Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil's work on the Pallavas is indeed a masterly treatise deserving all praise. Nevertheless, with due respect to these contributors, it may be safely maintained that their study was rather fragmentary and not systematised.

The present author has, by availing himself of the previous researches done on the subject and by tapping new sources of information, produced an excellent monograph giving an up-to-date history of the Pallavas. His thesis is divided into ten chapters to which are added three appendices. The first appendix gives the chronological index of the Pallava inscriptions and is indeed one of the most valuable parts of the volume. The second and the third appendices are perhaps unnecessary, since they contain extracts from the *Avantisundarikathasara*, a critical edition of which by Mr. Ramakrishnakavi is extant, and from the *Mahāvārṇasa*, a work not so rare either.

The first chapter deals with the history of the previous research done, and the sources of information available on the subject. Epigraphy is, of course, deemed the most important among the sources; next come literature and literary traditions, the evidence of which is utilised by the author in his treatment of the internal history of the period.

The origin of the Pallavas forms the subject matter of Chapter II to which is appended a note on the pre-Pallava

history of Kanchīpuram. After a thorough examination of the various theories hitherto put forward, the author concludes that the foreign origin of the Pallavas is groundless, and that its counterpart which connects the Pallava kings of Kanchī with the Pahlavas of Western India is equally without foundation. Similarly the theory that the Pallavas were of Chōḷa-Nāga origin is rejected as untenable and the identification of the Kurumbars with the Pallavas is proved to be preposterous. We should have expected the author to give his own view on this vexed question. But here we are sorely disappointed; for in order not to commit himself to any theory to be pulled down by future researchers, he has made no attempts whatever to arrive at a final solution of the problem. This question however, is satisfactorily answered by Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in his introduction to this volume. He says: "The Pallavas began as officers of the Sātavāhanas and ultimately rose to undisputed possession of the territory of Kanchi". (p. XVII) It would have been better, if Mr. Gopalan had included this suggestion in the body of his thesis.

The third Chapter gives the history of the five Pallava Kings of the Prakit records.

Chapter IV deals with the early Pallavas of Sanskrit records. The author refuses to accept the dogmatic assertion of Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil that Samudra Gupta never reached Kanchī and was himself subjugated by Viṣṇugopa. "The distinction made in the Allahabad pillar inscription in regard to the various groups of states Samudra Gupta came into contact with, is clear evidence of an actual invasion and conquest in regard to these trans-Vindhyan states". (p. 46) Likewise the doubt raised as to the identity of Viṣṇugopa has been finally resolved. The name, he says, is characteristic of Pallava Kings, and does not occur in any other royal dynasty so far known to us. Moreover there is no probability of any other dynasty having ruled at Kanchī at the time of Samudra Gupta's invasion.

Chapter V affords glimpses into the political situation of the Dekkan during this period. But no attempt has been made to identify the various Pallava Kings that came into contact

with the contemporary political powers. The author cites the Halsi inscription of the Kadamba King *Mrigēśa*, which describes the latter as the very fire of destruction to the Pallavas (*J. A.*, VI, p. 24). But we are not told who the vanquished Pallava King was. Again *Chañḍaḍaṇḍa* the King of *Kanchī* who was defeated by *Ravivarmma* (*J. A.*, VII, p. 30) has not been identified. *Vishṇuvarmma*, who was slain by the same *Ravivarmma*, was not a collateral cousin of *Kṛishṇavarmma* but a son of his. No mention has been made of *Naṇakāśa* Pallava who subjugated the Kadamba King *Kṛishṇavarmma* I. (*E. C.*, XI, Dg, 161) Nor does the name of *Santivarmma*, the Pallava King who installed *Vishṇuvarmma*, the son of *Kṛishṇavarmma* I, on his throne (*M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 98), does ever occur in the volume. Thus the Pallava hegemony over the Kadambas of *Dakshināpatha* is completely overlooked.

Chapters VII and VIII deal with one of the most momentous epochs in the history of the Pallavas. The political events of this period centre round the kings of the dynasty of *Simhavishṇu*. These kings were great patrons of learning and religion and some of the best scholars and poets flourished at their court. The age was also famous for the great religious thinkers and propagandists. The author has treated the subject with conspicuous ability, and the only point with which one feels dissatisfied is his narrative of the Pallava-Chalukya relations.

We should have expected the author to speak here of the far-reaching results of the struggle between these two dynasties. The obvious thing that strikes one's mind in this connection is the interchange of culture that was made possible between the Tamil and the Kanarese people. This is specially evidenced in the architecture and sculpture of the period. The Pallava style of architecture found its way to northern *Kaṇṇāṭaka*, as is illustrated in the *Virūpāksha* and *Saṅgamēśvara* temples at *Paṭṭadakal*. These temples were built by the Chalukya kings after their contact with the Pallavas and there is epigraphic evidence to prove that they even invited the Tamil architects to come and settle in the Kanarese

country. (*J. A.*, X, pp. 170-171) In like manner the Pallavas also profited by their relations with the Chalukyas. Though there is no inscriptional evidence to support the view that they borrowed some features of the Chalukya style, the similarity between the caves of Bādāmi and Mahābalīpuram strongly suggests that these were modelled after the former. This conclusion is not unreasonable, for we know that the caves at Bādāmi were already in existence (they were built by Mangalēśa, the uncle of Pulikeśi), when Narasimha, who held Bādāmi for sometime after defeating and slaying Pulikeśi II, founded Mahābalīpuram.

The author's treatment of the Pallava style of architecture is very unsatisfactory. He dismisses this important subject by giving two extracts one from Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Pallava Antiquities* and the other from the *Archaeological Report* for 1918-1919. One should have expected him to trace the gradual evolution of the Pallava style and illustrate the chapter with appropriate photographs of Pallava monuments. Again the paragraph on Pallava painting ought to have been accompanied by illustrations. An illustration of the fresco which adorns the Māmandūr cave would have been a welcome addition to the small number of plates in the volume.

The author has not attempted to explain the obscurity of Mahēndravarmma II. He dismisses this King by saying that about him "practically nothing is known, except the reference in the Kūram plates that he 'thoroughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and the orders' ". (p. 104) The Gaddemane *viragal*, which in our opinion explains this paucity of materials possibly did not come to his notice. According to this *viragal*, "while Silāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Pettanī Satyānka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battle-field, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bēḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahēndra, and reached the abode of *svarga*." (*M. A. R.*, 1923, p. 83.)

It is clear from this record that King Silāditya came on a conquering expedition to the Dekkan and pushed southwards



as far as Gaddemane in Shimoga Taluqua. Here he was met by Mahēndra and in the battle that was fought, Silāditya lost one of his generals. This Silāditya, we surmise, was a Valabhi King, as the designation he bears is characteristic of the Valabhi dynasty<sup>1</sup>. He was very probably Dēra-bhaṭṭa, who is also known as Silāditya in his records. For in one of the inscriptions he is described as the "lord of the earth, whose (*i. e.*, earth's) two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya Mountains whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like her nipples". *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 352. Now we know that the Sahyadris stand for the Western Ghats, and the whole passage may be assumed to indicate his territories which stretched far beyond Kaṇnāṭaka. Mahēndra is identified in the *Report* as Mahēndravarmma I. But this is not accurate for the latter was a contemporary of Pulikeśi II in the early part of his reign and was his bitterest enemy. Accordingly if the Valabhis invaded the Dekkan in the reign of Pulikeśi II, Mahēndravarmma I would certainly have made common cause with the invader. Moreover it would be absurd to hold that the Valabhis overran the Chalukya king-

He has been wrongly identified in the *Report* with Harshavardhana of Kanauj. The latter never succeeded in penetrating to the south of Rava, *i. e.* the Narbada, where Pulikesi's armies were encamped. Cf. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 350; *E. I.*, VI, p. 10; *I A.*, V, p. 72. Further the defeat inflicted on Harsha by Pulikesi as recorded in the Aihole inscription, was so great that he would not have ventured on another campaign to the south. An earlier expedition than the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is likewise out of the question, since Harsha had to contend against many enemies before he made his position secure in northern India. Hence the eulogy of Mayura the supposed father-in-law of Bana, in which it is stated that Kuntala, Chola and Kanchi were among the countries defeated by Harsha is not to be taken seriously. It can only be regarded as a "praise with conventional style of a poet given to punning and without any historical accuracy". *J. R. A. S.*, 1926, p. 487. However it may be argued that Siladitya is a title also used in connection with Harsha. But against this we have the undisputed fact that Harsha is always called in the southern inscriptions 'Sri Harsha' and never 'Sri Siladitya'.

dom in the heyday of their power; for it was in the reign of Pulikeśi II that the Chalukya Empire reached the acme of its greatness.

If on the other hand we accept Mahēndra as Mahēndravarmma II, no difficulty would arise. Narasiṃhavarmma I, the father of the former, had conquered Pulikeśi II and annexed the whole of northern Dekkan to his kingdom. His son succeeded to this extensive Empire, but was soon faced by a formidable adversary in the person of the Valabhi King. The latter took advantage of the youth and inexperience of the new King and invaded the Dekkan. He very probably conquered all the territory acquired in the reign of Narasiṃhavarmma, thus confining the Pallava rule to the Tamil country. The battle mentioned in the Gaddemane *viragal* is evidently one of those fought during this struggle for supremacy in the Dekkan.

In Chapter VIII we are apprised of a dynastic revolution in Pallava history. The traditional view that Nandivarmma Pallavamalla usurped the throne soon after Paramēśvaravarmma, II died is ably refuted by the author. He interprets the sculptural representations in the panels of the Vaikunṭhaperumaḷ temple at Kanchī, in the light of the evidence afforded by the Kaśāhkuḍi plates (*S. I. I.*, IV, pp. 10-12), and concludes that Nandivarmma was elected to the Pallava throne by the people. Hiranyavarmma, mentioned in the Tandantōṭṭam and Korrangūḍi plates, is identified with Hiranyavarmma I, the father of Nandivarmma II, against the view of Mr. Krishna Sastri that Hiranyavarmma was identical with Dantivarmma, the son of Nandivarmma II. The possible duration of Nandivarmma's reign is the point next discussed. The author accepts the authority of the Tandantōṭṭam and Kaṇrangūḍi plates and assigns to him a reign of 65 years. This is not improbable, as Nandivarmma is known from other inscriptions to have succeeded to the throne in his twelfth year. (*S. I. I.*, IV, No. 135) This would also confirm the view of Mr. Gopalan that Nandivarmma II was not a usurper, but became King by popular election. For we cannot expect a child of twelve to deprive a legitimate heir of his rights.

During his reign the Chalukyas renewed their encroachments on the Pallava territory, and Vikramāditya, one of their kings, seized the city of Kanchī. The author is of opinion that this event took place when the Pallava King was preoccupied with war against the southern powers. After the downfall of the Chalukyas, the Rāshtrakūtas carried on the struggle against the Pallavas. We are told that Dantidurga, one of their kings, first reduced the southern country, then turned his enemies to Madhyadēśa and finally conquered the city of Kanchī. But they soon seem to have come to an agreement by virtue of which the Pallava King married the daughter of Dantidurga. The last to come into hostile contact with Nandivarman II were the Gangas, and the author thinks that the contemporary Ganga King was either Śivamāra or Śrīpuruṣa.

Chapter IX gives an account of the rulers of Kanchī after Pallavamalla. It was believed that consequent on the Chalukya and the Rāshtrakūta invasions the Pallava power dwindled and their Empire was dismembered. To explain the subsequent history of the Pallavas various theories were put forward, the most important of these being the Ganga-Pallava theory. According to this theory the dynasty of Nandivarman was supplanted by another of Pallava origin. The author has unravelled the confusion in connection with the successors of Pallavamalla and has endeavoured to shew that there was regular succession in the line of Simhavishnu.

The last chapter deals with the internal history of the country under Pallava rule. A fair estimate is given in this chapter of the literary activity of the period and the systems of administration and taxation. With the materials at his command Mr. Gopalan could have treated the subject more exhaustively. We would have welcomed a section on the customs of the people and another on the art of warfare. Similarly a note on the architectural style of the Pallavas would have greatly enhanced the value of the book.

George M. Moraes.

# Notes and News



Mr. M. H. Sharma, Bangalore, has contributed a very interesting article on *The Identification of Nuniz's Crynamata* to the *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, pp. 5-14. Crynamata or Cummaṭa seems to be the name of a fortress in a kingdom situated in the north of Kārṇāṭaka, which was hitherto totally unknown. This name is found both in Portuguese chronicles and in indigenous sources. Its King Kāmpila is named in Hindu inscriptions and poems and in Mussulman chronicles. In the present number of our *Journal* we publish another article of Mr. Sharma on the same subject.

In point of fact, nine miles from Ānegondi, in the Gangavati Taluka, Nizam's territory, there is an old fort ruined and abandoned called Hale-Kūmata. There are no villagers in the neighbourhood though the fort is on the plains. Inside the fort one may still trace the ruins of a palace.

Moreover south of the Tuṅgabhadra, opposite Chintāmani temple of Ānegondi, there is a long inscription in Nandināgari carved on a huge boulder, that mentions King Kāmpila. This inscription seems to be the one mentioned by Prof. Rangacharya, *Topographical List*, I, p. 301. Now next to this inscribed boulder there is a temple and several maṇḍapas in ruins. All these buildings are known as *Kapila Asharam*, and they say that Kapila Mahā-mūni used to live there in very ancient times, "nobody knows when". (*sic*) The famous Kapila Mahā-mūni is much older than the buildings one finds there, though they appear of the early Vijayanagara period. Is the name Kapila, associated with this spot, a corruption of Kāmpila, the name of the King who ruled over this territory prior to the Saṅgama Emperors of Vijayanagara?

An announcement was made in *The Times*, London, March 16th, that Mr. Woolley while excavating the Royal Tombs at Ur in Mesopotamia, had found evident relics of the Biblical Flood. Our readers will remember the article by Prof. Vaidyanatha Iyer on *The Flood Legends of the East* in our last number, as well as the footnote we appended, that ran as follows:—

“It is nevertheless possible that these Flood Legends do not depend on one another. If the Flood is a historical fact, as seems evident, all these legends may have this fact as a common historical foundation, and so be mutually independent in their origin”.

We hope that the account of this find, that comes to confirm our statement, will be of interest to our readers. We copy the following from the scholarly journal *Antiquity*, III, pp. 129-130:—

“The Royal Tombs were constructed at the bottom of deep shafts, dug through a thick deposit of stratified earth containing immense quantities of pottery. This deposit is obviously older than the tombs; and it appears to have been a refuse-dump containing the rubbish of the Ur of those times. It was formed in the same way as any modern municipal dump, but of course more slowly. The strata immediately outside the town dip at a steep angle (45°); those further away from it flatten out to the horizontal. The formation of these outer strata is partly natural, through the agencies of wind (depositing dust) and rain; but they contain a fair amount of pottery and ‘in each stratum the fragments lay, not at all angles as they do higher up, but flat at the bottom of a deposit of smooth, water-laid mud . . . The earlier settlements (whose buildings Mr. Wooley found) had been formed on an island in the marshy delta of the Euphrates; the rubbish heaps flung out from the walls had gradually increased the size of the island by filling up the edges of the marsh, and had been later utilized as a burying ground’.

”Having dug down through this deposit to the level of the outer plain, ‘the workmen announced virgin soil, a clean water-laid clay without the slightest admixture of pottery or

ash or other human débris... That there might be no possible mistake, we carried our pits deeper, through eight solid feet of clean clay, and then suddenly came upon a flat stratum rich in flint chips and cores, pottery like that found above and painted fragments of that Al 'Ubaid ware, *which I had last summer labelled as antediluvian*'. At the bottom was found a burnt brick of a wholly new type, proving that 'at the time when the painted pottery and the flints were in use, Ur was not merely a village of mud huts, but really a town, civilized and properly built. Then at a few feet above sea-level, real virgin soil, the clean river silt of the island on which the first huts were built'. From this it is inferred that the Painted Pottery People, the earliest settlers of all, were overwhelmed by a flood — the Flood — which deposited the eight feet of clean clay.

"That the Flood of Genesis was also the Flood of the far older Sumerian records admits of no doubt. That it was an historical event localized in Mesopotamia has long been held by all reasonable people. Tangible, archaeological evidence of it, however, has not hitherto been forthcoming. Interest centres in that eight-foot bank of clay. Does it represent a single event or a series? And how long did it take to form? These hard questions will doubtless be answered in time; they will yield to a concentrated fire from several directions, the principal weapon used being the spirit-level and staff in the hands of a surveyor. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine how such a bank might have been formed on the down-stream shore of an island or shoal. Here more than elsewhere, in the slack water, fine silt would rapidly accumulate, derived not only from the flood-water generally, but also from the submerged slopes of the mound or shoal itself. If not wholly submerged the friction along the wind-and-water-line of the island would greatly increase the supply of fine silt from this latter source".

Immediately after the announcement of Mr Woolley's discovery was made in *The Times*, "Dr. Ladgdon claimed, on behalf of the Kish excavators, that traces of the Flood

had been found there also (*Daily Telegraph*, March 18th)", we again read in *Antiquity*, III, p. 131. "Kish is only 140 miles from Ur; and a flood of any magnitude must have affected a very large area. The correlation of the Flood stratum on both sites would have the most far-reaching consequences, it would purge Sumerian chronology of many errors, and provide a fixed datum-point of incalculable value. But we fancy the problem is more complicated than appears at first sight. There may, for instance, have been several Floods. Apart from accurate levelling which, as a foundation for the drawing of sections is, of course, of prime importance, good results might be achieved by close examination of the soil by a conchologist. This might determine the character of the water by which it was deposited and could be done in England from samples".

The Government of His Majesty the King Emperor has acknowledged the merits of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, who received a knighthood in the Birth-day Honours List. All lovers of history must rejoice at such an event. Sir Jadunath, after his retirement from the Vice-Chancellorship of the Calcutta University, has finally settled at Sarkar-abas, Darjeeling, where he devotes all his energy to the study of history. Recently he has published some articles connected with Maratha history in *The Modern Review*. One would prefer his learned articles to appear in scholarly journals of research, available to all those interested in historical studies. His papers published in the said Journal are lost to many scholars.

During the progress of special repairs in the Jogeshwari Caves, near Andheri, Thana District, the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, found some interesting ancient coins of stone, copper and terracotta. The Curator, Archaeological Section, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, has exhibited these coins and antiquities

together in a special case near the entrance to the Brahmanical Gallery, with a short description of them. Among these is a small hollow elephant of copper with a driver and goddess seated on its back and a long chain with three human figures used as links, which has an arrangement by which any liquid poured in through one of the legs (formed like a tube) drops out when placed in position from the lowest part of the belly.

The new school that regards the year 1630 A. D. as the year of Shivaji's birth, intends to celebrate the tercentenary by different meetings at Raygad, Poona, Bombay, Nagpur, Umaraoti and Belgaum, and specially by the publication of six Memorial Volumes, containing papers on Shivaji written by several scholars, as well as foreign and Maratha sources for the history of the founder of the Maratha Nation. Apart from the controversy about his birth, this volume will be greatly welcomed by all the students of Indian History.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has issued an *Appeal for Contributions towards the First Critical and Illustrated Edition of the Mahābhārata or the Great Epic of India*. The publication of this edition is really a *magnum opus* that deserves every encouragement from all those interested in the progress of the history and culture of our country.

The *Bibliotheca Indica*, the famous series of Oriental works published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, has now reached the 250th publication. The latest volume of the series consists of a work of Prince Muhammad Dara Sikuh, great-grandson of Akbar, with a translation, notes and introduction. Prince Dara inherited the mystic leanings of Akbar, and his interest in Hinduism not only induced him to translate the Upanishads but to write a small treatise attempting to



reconcile the teachings of Hinduism and Islam, which the Calcutta scholar Professor Mafzul Haq, of the Presidency College, has now rendered into English under the title *Mingling of two Oceans*.

In 1921 the "Society for Army Historical Research" was founded in London "with the object of encouraging research into Army antiquities, into matters connected with Regimental History, Uniforms, Dress and Equipment of the past, Old Military Customs and Traditions, the Art of War in bygone days, Pictures, Prints, Medals, the Relics and other subjects of similar interest." The Society has been publishing a quarterly journal and occasional memoirs. We are glad to see that one of the members of our Society, Capt. H. Bullock, is the representative of this Society for India.

The *Indian Historical Research Institute*, commenced four years ago in St. Xavier's College for the benefit of undergraduate and especially post-graduate students, has grown so much in this short time, that the College authorities have considered it necessary to transfer it to the ground floor of the same College to a much bigger place. As one enters the College to the left, the first room is the lecture room of the Institute, comfortably fitted with armchairs, decorated with pictures of Indian monuments and furnished with a lantern ever ready to project views on to the screen, a practice often adopted in ordinary lectures. The second room is the Indian History Library, which contains nearly four thousand volumes of Historical Sources, Historical Literature and Journals of Research. In the centre a square table surrounded by armchairs offers accommodation and comfort to the research students for their study. The third room contains the Museum. Two big tables in the centre support the heavy archaeological specimens, some of them of great interest. Round the walls there are show cases fitted up with electric bulbs inside, where beautiful specimens of statues, copper-plates, implements and illuminated manuscripts are shown.

The walls are covered with reproductions of old paintings and engravings, and also with some that are original. A portion of this room, the largest of the three, is divided off by a wooden glass-paned partition which provides space further subdivided into two small rooms; one is the Research Room for the students, where four students at a time may study privately. Each student has a table, a small cupboard for his books and an electric lamp. The notes and papers of the students are kept in a double chest of drawers in the centre of the room. The other small room formed by the same partition is the office of the Director of the Institute. The coin cabinet is kept there under his own supervision.

Last year the Institute had 26 post-graduate research students. Out of these, seven students submitted theses for their M. A. degree. The results of these theses have been the following:—

Mr. G. M. Moraes.— Thesis: *The Kadamba-Kula*. First Class. Chancellor's Medal and Sir William Wedderburn Scholarship.

Mr. Wm. Coelho.— Thesis: *The Hoysala Empire*. First Class.

Mr. C. J. Shah.— Thesis: *Jainism in North India*. First Class.

Mr. D. R. Banaji.— Thesis: *Relations between the Sidis of Janjira and the British of Bombay*. First Class.

Mr. S. A. Nentin.— Thesis: *Relations between Tipu Sultan and the French*. First Class.

Mr. J. M. Desai.— Thesis: *Zohak in History and Tradition*. Second Class.

Mr. S. H. Manjra.— Thesis: *Cyrus the Great and his Times*. Second Class.

These results speak for themselves as to the excellent work being done by Fr. Heras' Historical Research Institute.

Mr. M. S. Mehta has obtained the Ph. D. in the University of London by preparing a thesis on *The Relations of the British Government in India with the Indian States, 1813-1823*, in the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London. According to the *Bulletin of the Institute*, VI, p. 116, "the material for this thesis was found almost wholly at the India Office".

It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Mrs. Annette S. Beveridge, occurred in London on March 27th, at the advanced age of 87. Born in 1842, she came to India in 1872 and opened a school for girls in Bengal in the following year. In 1875 she was married to Mr. Henry Beveridge, of the Bengal Civil Service, under whose guidance she studied Persian and later on Turki. She has published several works and numerous articles on Oriental subjects, the *Humā-yūn-nāma* and the *Bābur-nāma* being the most important of all.

The Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee, the members of which are named below, for the management of the Historical Museum at Satara which has been purchased by Government from the heir of the late Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. This Committee is appointed in the first instance for the term of one year only:

Chairman, The Collector of Satara (Ex-Officio).

Members: The Director of Public Instruction (Ex-Officio).

Mr. Abdul Kadir Sarfraz Shaikh, M. A., Professor, Deccan College.

Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B.A., LL. B., M. L. C., Satara.

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, I. E. S., Principal, Deccan College.

The Committee has been requested to make arrangements for the opening of the Museum and to make the collections therein available for the public as soon as possible.

It is empowered to manage the institution as the agent of

Government, pending the settlement of the terms and condition on which the collections may be handed over to them and subject to the provisional rules already sanctioned by Government.

The Committee has been asked to frame as soon as possible a complete set of rules for the conduct of its business and for the use of the manuscripts and collections by students of historical research. The rules are to be submitted to Government for approval as soon as they are ready.

Further the Committee has also been requested to select and recommend to Government a suitable person for appointment as curator. They are required to make proposals regarding the rest of the staff that will be necessary for the work of the Museum.

“The Karnatak Historical Association”, Dharwar, intend to publish a Journal from the beginning of next year. The pages of this new publication will be mainly devoted to topics concerning Kaṛṇāṭaka history.

\* \* \*

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M. A., D. Litt., Secretary, Greater India Society, Calcutta, has delivered from the 9th to the 13th of September a course of five Extension Lectures illustrated with lantern slides on *Art and Archaeology of Greater India* under the auspices of the University of Bombay. The subjects of these lectures were the following:—

- I. Art and Archaeology of the Hindu Colony of Champa.
- II. Art and Archaeology of the Hindu Colony of Cambodia.
- III. Art and Archaeology of the Hindu Colonies of Indonesia (Bali, Madura, Borneo, Lombok, etc.).
- IV. Art and Archaeology of the Hindu Colony of Java.
- V. India and Greater India: a study in cultural affinities.

\* \* \*

The well-known Bengal Journalist Mr. H. P. Ghose has recently found a beautiful stone image of Viṣṇu lying in neglect in the outskirts of Calcutta.

'It is a standing four-armed image of Vishṇu, 62 inches high (the figure itself being 41 inches) in black shale, which is the stone usually employed by the Bengali sculptors of the pre-Muhammedan period. The deity is fully decorated with ornaments, which include a crown, necklaces, the *va-namala* and various other items for the ears, arms, waist and the feet. Of these the most noteworthy are the crown and the ornaments hanging down from the waist in which the *kīrtimukha* has been used as a decorative motif. The figure stands on a full-blown lotus and evidently held in his four hands, originally, a conch, a discus, a mace and a lotus. Since however three of the hands are missing, the only attribute that remains intact is the mace held in his upper right hand. To the right of Vishṇu stands the goddess Lakshmi and to his left the goddess Saraswati with a lyre in her hands. On the back slab Vishṇu has a halo around his head, and above there is another *kīrtimukha* which occupies the centre of a band of decorations including two flying figures and a couple of devotees. On the pedestal is seen, kneeling in devout attitude, the bird Garuda, the carrier of Vishṇu.

Similar images found in Bengal are to be seen principally in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rajshahi. The image does not bear any inscription. We have to depend, therefore, entirely on artistic evidence to form an estimate of the age. The points that are noteworthy in this connection are the following:—

- (1) The figures have a profusion of ornaments.
- (2) The high crown as worn by Lakshmi bears the *amalaka* decoration which occurs also at the two ends of the mass held by the central figure.
- (3) The halo is a very small one and quite in contrast with that so prominent in the figures of divinities of the Gupta, late Gupta and early Pāla periods.
- (4) The top of the back slab is arched to a point having the outline of a pointed arch.
- (5) The *kīrtimukha* is not only inserted at the top of the back slab but also repeated as a decorative element on the crown and the waist ornaments of the image.

(6) The attendant figures on the two sides of the deity do not stand in relief on separate plastic layers but project almost entirely out of the back slab.

Judging from these details the image under consideration would appear to be later in date than the Baghaura Vishṇu image of the time of Mahīpāla I. (*J. A. S. B.*, 1915, pl. X) As Mahīpāla flourished about 1000 A. D., the image may be assigned to the second half of the 11th century.

The birthplace of the Italian traveller Ludovico di Varthema who toured India in the XVII century has been a matter of long discussion, but now it seems to be definitely settled. "In spite of definite statements including those of the traveller himself, that Varthema was a Bolognese, the question of his origin", we read in *The Geographical Journal*, LXXIV, pp. 194-195, "has been treated by some writers as an open one, their arguments being based: (1) on equally definite statements in his *Itinerario* that he was a Roman; (2) on his failure to say anything about Bologna, though he mentions other Italian cities; (3) on the supposed absence of all traces of the the family name in the Bologna records, which has led to the suggestion that Varthema may have been a pseudonym or an orientalized form. The question seems set finally at rest, however, by an article by Rodolfo Fantini in the *Bolletino* of the Royal Italian Geographical Society for April last. This writer points out that on both the occasions when Varthema spoke of himself as a "Roman" he was in some danger of being denounced as a Christian, and that he put a bold face upon it by saying that he was an Italian or South European (the sense in which the general term Rumi was understood by the Moslems) who had become a "Mameluke". He also shows that it is incorrect to say that the name is not met with at Bologna, for his researches in the records there have brought to light documents of 1345 relating to a Nicolo, son of Aloise de Vertemate, a cleric, whom there is reason to suppose a son of the traveller, for there are other instances of the alternative use of Aloise for Lodovico. The family of

Vartema is met with in the fifteenth century (in which the traveller was born) in other cities of Emilia, and the idea that it was of Genoa seems without foundation."

The Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Science of Java has published the first commemorative volume of the 150th anniversary of its foundation.

*Feestbundel iutegegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150 Jarig Bestaan. 1778-1928. Deel I. 1929.*

The book contains papers by different scholars in Dutch, German, English and French. Among others there is a very learned and interesting article, illustrated with numerous photographs and drawings, on *De ommanteling van Barabudur's oorspronkelijken voet* by Mr. Th. Van Erp. (p. 120-160) *De eenheid der Matarāmsche Dynastie*, by Dr. R. Goris (pp. 202-206), and *Een Balische brief van 1768 aan den Gouverneur van Java's Noordkust* by Mr. J. Kats, (pp. 291-296), also are articles of special interest. We wish every success to the sister Society, while we eagerly await the second volume of *Feestbundel*.

*Antiquity*, III, p. 132 suggests how fruitful systematic excavations would be in Scinde (read Sind). "For example the region between Scinde and the head of the Persian Gulf still hides many secrets; and it may well solve the riddles of the early civilizations of India and Mesopotamia".

Fr. J. Plancquart, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, contributes a very interesting article in *The Xaverian*, V, pp. 142-144 with the title: *An Archaeological Trip*. He maintains that there is a vast field for prehistoric research in the Chota-Nagpur territory.

"Research-work on this table-land during August, 1928" says he, "led us to the discovery of two prehistorical settlements and two ancient burial places near Soso in the Gumla

District. The Roman Church, situated south-east of Jaradaur village and 6 furlongs north-east of the village of Soso, at about 23°5 lat. and 84°30 long. E. G., was the starting point of our exploration.

"The first prehistorical station is located East of the church beyond the two affluents of the Koel river, between a rocky hill and the village of Paharpanari. In this site numerous stone implements are scattered on a pretty wide but well defined area, on either side of the ridges along the river. They belong to a small kind, known in prehistory as the microlithic industry and are made mostly of flint, also of quartz, agate, rock crystal, jasper and opal. About a 100, completed or partly worked, tools and some 200 doubtful chippings have been collected in this settlement.

"The second settlement of the Stone Age is situated along a small river near a cascade, 4 furlongs north of Chaka, 2 furlongs west of Tukutoli. The implements found there are all the more important since they were found *in situ*. The river at the place is but a strip of water; near the cascade, a narrow ravine, about 3000 yds. long, runs through the fields perpendicular to the rivulet. While examining the steep open sides of this depression we discovered at an average depth of one foot and one yard below the surface, two strata separated by a layer of clay; in these lay embedded pottery and flint, quartz, opal, tools, chippings and other objects of human industry. It seems to us that floods may account for the waving stratification of the debris; we have but to imagine a twice repeated process, of a superficial layer of remains first unsettled and then re-arranged in strata by the water".

"The gradual encroachments of the river on the adjoining fields", continues the writer a little later on, "have led to the discovery of what are old burying places possibly going up to very remote times. The first is situated between the confluence of two rivers, both affluents of the Koel, north of Tangratoli. The second S. E. of Joradaur and N. E. of Soso. During the rains, as the water keeps sweeping over the fields in its rush to the smaller ravine (or Nullah), it acts like a huge plain, which cuts away ever



larger slices of the banks thus bringing to light the funeral urns buried below.

"The force of the water shatters these earthenware pitchers to bits, together with their contents. One sees plenty of sherds, characteristic footpieces of pitchers, rusty spikes, iron blades, rings and bracelets, circular coin-like iron pieces, pigments such as ochre; a kind of native earth consisting of clay and hydrated oxide of iron, small and larger pierced beds in agate, corks in stone or earthenware, handles, ears, rusty weights, pierced or plain marbles in burnt clay, stones of bright colour, much slag, etc.

"The funeral urns have been deposited in the soil without any lateral support. They mostly were covered with a flat stone or a cork in burn clay. The big pitchers seem to have contained 1, 2, 5, 10, and more smaller vessels, since for one big foot piece, one finds as many small ones. These tombs extend over an area of more than one square mile. There are in places as many as 5 to 10 in one square yard, at depths of 1 or 2 ft. or 1 yard below the surface.

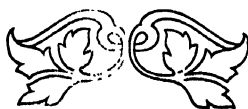
"Moreover, we can see in the place the smelting place of the ironmongers; the base of the furnace was made of mud, the inside of slag; its diameter is 3 feet.

"How old are those burying grounds, furnaces, etc.?

"They do not belong to the Oraons, the actual inhabitants of the country. The Munda tribe (one of the most important of the 12 Kolerian ones), the previous settlers in this country, have neither great claim on them. For upright slabs or stone circles are the only memorial erected on the tombs of their dead.

"The tradition ascribes these tombs to the ironmongers, the Asuras, who settled down in the country before the Mundas. The latter often still relate legends about the fierce struggle with the ancient settlers. The Asuras, so they say in the Gumla District, were mighty people; they dug out a pond in one night, they brought huge rocks from the mountain and used the smooth surface of the rocks as an anvil".

The latest number of *Epigraphia Indica*, corresponding to April, 1928, publishes a letter of Dr. E. Herzfeld to Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology, entitled *A New Aśokan Inscription from Taxila*. The finding of this inscription was announced in the report of the *A. S. of I.*, 1914-15, pp. 25-26. It was studied by Dr. L. D. Barnett and Prof. A. Cowley in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, pp. 340-347. The letters as well as the language were found to be Aramaic "and of a type which is to be assigned to the fourth century B. C., but the meaning of the record", continues Sir John Marshall in 1916, "is still a matter of uncertainty." (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, pp. 75-76) Anyhow the philological importance of the inscription was acknowledged from the beginning of its discovery. "The discovery of this inscription is of special interest in connection with the origin of the Kharoshṭī alphabet, since it confirms the view that Kharoshṭī was derived at Taxila from Aramaic" (Ibid., p. 76). Now Dr. Herzfeld has newly interpreted the inscription, and in two verses he has found the word *priyardarś*, which seems to be the coronation title of Aśoka, the one he himself uses in all but one of his inscriptions instead of his proper name. The last words of this fragmentary inscription are rendered by Dr. Herzfeld as follows:—"Our lord Priyad . . . his . . . his queens . . . and also his sons . . . to our lord Priyadarś". This inscription written in a foreign language and probably set up in a foreign country ruled by the Achaemenian Kings—who officially used the Aramaic language—confirms the unflagging zeal of king Aśoka in the propagation of his *dharma*.



# Bibliography of Indian History

For the Year 1928.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In this bibliography only articles in periodical publications have been included. The works published during the year are supposed to be well known to the general public. Articles marked down with an asterisk \* were published in 1927 and not included in last year's bibliography.

**ABORI:** Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

**AO:** Acta Orientalia, Lugduni Batavorum.

**An:** Antiquity, Gloucester.

**BFE-O:** Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

**BISMQ:** Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Quarterly, Poona.

**BHSMHistMisc:** Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala Historical Miscellany, Poona.

**BIVG:** Bolletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, Nova Goa.

**BMQ:** The British Museum Quarterly, London.

**BPP:** Bengal Past and Present, Calcutta.

**BSOS:** Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.

**CL:** The Catholic Leader, Madras.

**CR:** The Calcutta Review, Calcutta.

**DR:** The Dublin Review, Dublin.

**Dj:** Djawa, Weltevreden (Java).

**EI:** Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta.

**GJ:** The Geographical Journal, London.

**H-YJMU:** The Half-Yearly Journal of The Mysore University, Mysore.

**IA:** The Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

**IAL:** Indian Arts and Letters, London.

**IC:** Islamic Culture, Hyderabad (Deccan).

**IDM:** The Indian Daily Mail, Bombay.

**IHQ:** The Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

- IHRC*: Indian Historical Records Commission, Calcutta.  
*I-PR*: The Indo-Portuguese Review, Calcutta.  
*IR*: The Indian Review, Madras.  
*ISRM*: Indian State Railways Magazine, Delhi.  
*JASB*: Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.  
*JAOS*: Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven (Conn., U. S. A.).  
*JBBRAS*: The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.  
*JBHS*: Journal of the Bombay Historical Society, Bombay.  
*JBNHS*: The Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Bombay.  
*JBORS*: The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.  
*JG*: The Jaina Gazzete, Madras.  
*JIH*: Journal of Indian History, Madras.  
*JKRCOI*: Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.  
*JOR*: The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.  
*JRAS*: The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.  
*JUPHS*: The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Meerut (U. P.).  
*Ja*: Jayakarnatak, Dharwar.  
*KSP*: Kerala Society Papers, Trivandrum.  
*MB*: The Maha-Bodhi, Calcutta.  
*MII*: Man in India, Ranchi.  
*MMA*: The Madras Mail Annual, Madras.  
*MR*: Muslim Review, Calcutta.  
*MUM*: The Mysore University Magazine, Mysore.  
*NGM*: The National Geographic Magazine, Washington.  
*NRS*: Nuova Rivista Storica, Milano-Roma-Napoli.  
*NS*: Numismatic Supplement, Calcutta.  
*QJMS*: The Quarterly of the Journal Mythic Society, Bangalore.  
*QJAHS*: Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.  
*RAA*: Revue des Arts Asiatiques, Paris.  
*Rm*: Rupam, Calcutta.  
*TE*: The Examiner, Bombay.

**TI:** The Times of India, Bombay.

**TIA:** The Times of India Annual, Bombay.

**TIW:** The Times of India Illustrated Weekly, Bombay.

**TMR:** The Modern Review, Calcutta.

**TMaR:** The Mangalorean Review, Bombay.

**TR:** The Rajaramian, Kolhapur.

**TX:** The Xaverian, Calcutta.

**Tr:** Triveni, Madras

**V-BQ:** The Visva-Bharati Quarterly, Santiniketan.

**VM:** The Vedic Magazine, Lahore.

**WZKM:** Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Viena.

## I. PREHISTORY

**Albert J. Saunders, Ph. D.**—Dolmens in the Palani Hills, South India—*MMA*, 1928, 3 pages. (Illustrated)

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**Sir John Marshall, C.I.E., Litt.D., F.S.A.**—Recent Discoveries—Pre-historic Civilization—*TI*, 1928, January 4th.

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**D. J. H. Hutton, M.A., D.Sc., C.I.E., I.C.S.**—Prehistory of Assam—*MII*, VIII, pp. 228-232.

## II. VEDIC HISTORY

**Dwijadas Datta**—Rigveda, the only True Veda—*CR*, XXVI, pp. 90-95.

**\*Walther Wust**—Über das Alter des Rgveda und die Hauptfragen der indoarischen Frühgeschichte—*WZKM*, XXXIV, pp. 165-215.

**\*Sanatak Priyalrat Vedalkar**—Evolution and the Vedas—*VM*, XXV, pp. 643-653.

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**Maurice Bloomfield**—The Home of the Vedic Sacrifice—*JAOS*, XLVIII, pp. 200-224.

- A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A., Ph.D.**—Vedic Studies (Continued from Vol. LVI)—*IA*, LVII, pp. 57-64; 97-102; 141-148. (To be continued)
- A. Venkatasubbiah** — Vedic Studies. Second Series — *JBBRAS*, IV (N. S.), pp. 147-156. (To be continued)
- \*Rao Sahib K. V. Vaze, L.C.E.**—Purusha Sukta and its Significance—*VM*, XXV, pp. 701-713.
- K. Krishnamacharya, B.A., L.T.**—Varna-Dharma vs. Asrama-Dharma—*QJMS*, XIX, pp. 110-114.
- \*Prof. Vaijanath R. Rajavade**—Indra's Enemies—*JBBRAS*, III (N. S.), pp. 231-274.
- L. D. Barnett**—Yama, Gandharva and Glaucus—*BSOS*, IV, pp. 703-716.
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- Prof. Jarl Charpentier**—Kāṭhakā Upaniṣad—*IA*, LVII, pp. 201-207; 221-229. (To be continued)
- Jainath Pati**—Is Indo-Aryan Invasion a Myth? — *IHQ*, IV, pp. 678—694.
- R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S.**—The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins — *QJMS*, XIX, pp. 294-313. (2 maps).
- Binode Bihari Roy, Vedaratna**—Harappa and the Vedic Hariyupia—*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 129-130.
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### III. EPIC HISTORY

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- O. Stein**—Pāṇḍyakavāṭa—*IHQ*, IV, pp. 778-782.
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- Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.**—Note on the Birhor Legend about Ravana's Abduction of Sita—*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 548-555.
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- \*C. W. Gurner**—Āśvaghoṣa and Rāmāyaṇa—*JASB*, XXIII, pp. 347-367.
- \*J. Kats**—The Ramayana in Indonesia—*BSOS*, IV, pp. 579-585.
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- J. Przyluski**—La Légende de Kṛṣṇa dans les Bas-reliefs d'Angkor-val—*RAA*, V, pp. 91-97. (2 pl.)

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- K. P. Jayaswal, M.A.**—Revised Notes on the Brahmin Empire—*JBORS*, XIV, pp. 24-27.
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- D. R. Bhandarkar**—Buildings in Ancient India — *MR*, III, No. 2, pp. 5-10.
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- \* **Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B.A. Ph. D.**—Truth in Ancient Legal Procedure—*H-YJMU*, I, pp. 112-114.
- K. S. Srikantan**—Administration of Justice in Ancient India—*MUM*, XII, pp. 270-285.
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- \***Ivan Stchoukine**—La Peinture de l'Inde Antique d'après les Temoignages Littéraires—*RAA*, IV, pp. 146-152.
- Kedarnath Chatterji**—Enamelling in Ancient India—*TMR*, XLIV, pp. 675-679. (1 pl.)



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